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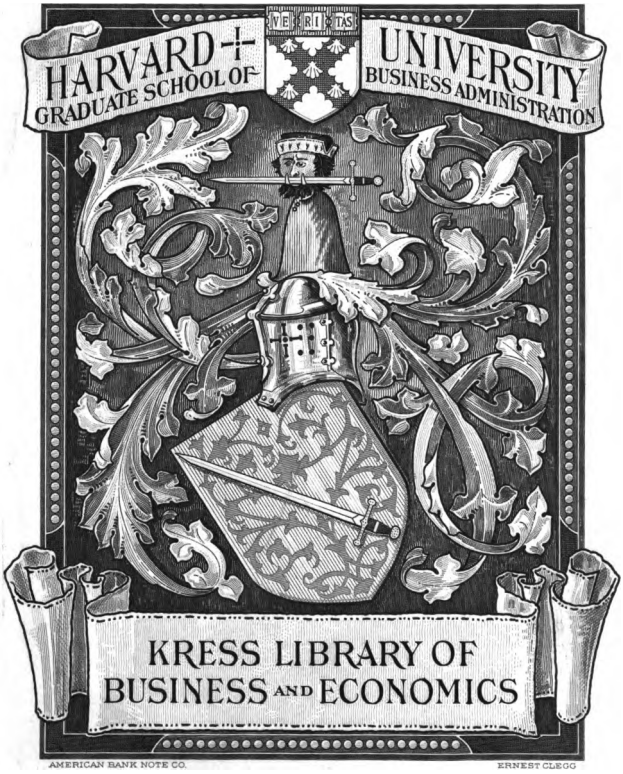

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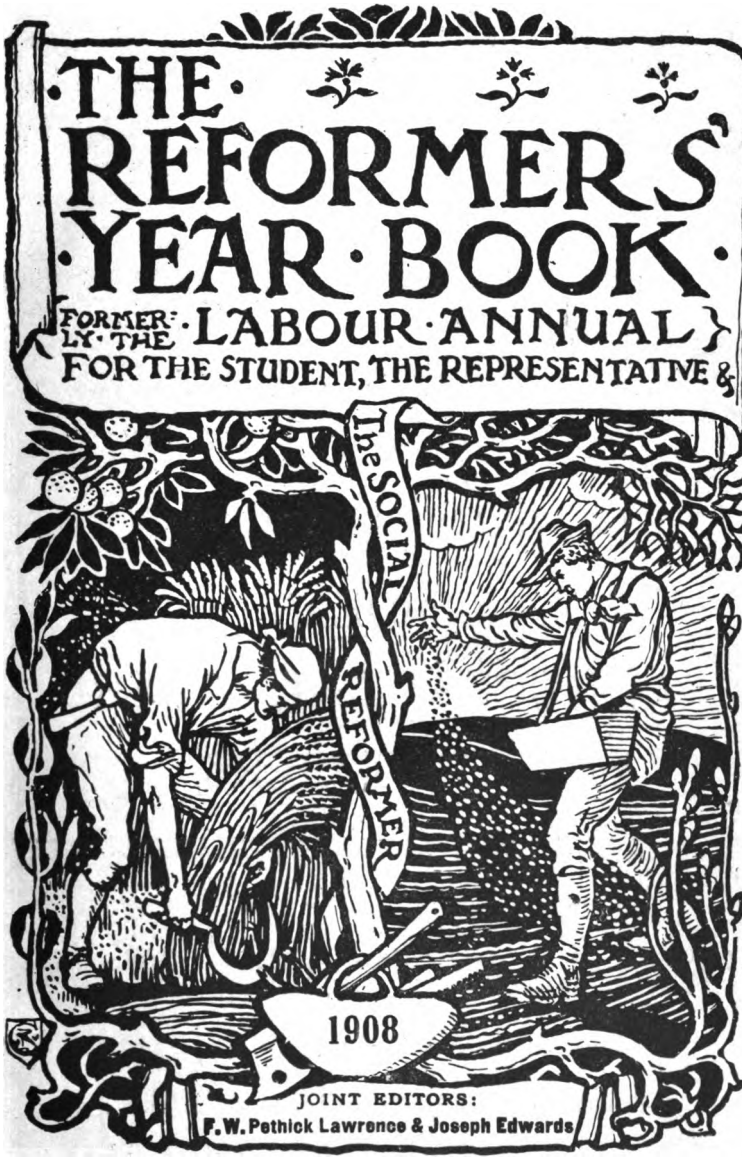

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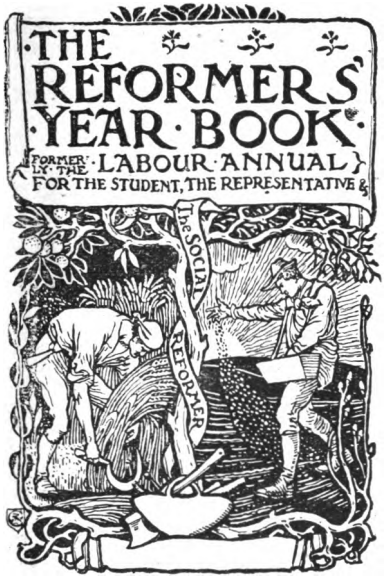

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To Find."

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In the Name of the Weary and Oppressed of Every Land

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A New Organisation of Society . .

Of which Useful Labour must be The Surest Foundation
. . . and . . .
In which The People's Service will be the Highest Reward.

Ring Out a slowly dying cause
And ancient forms of party strife;
Ring In the nobler modes of life,
With sweeter manners, purer laws.
—*TENNYSON.*

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FORE WORDS.

"WHEN from the Throne of God, that Throne where the weary have refuge,
Where in the midst of distress, there is calm, that mandate is uttered,—
Mandate not uttered alone that day for the thousands of Judah,
But to all ages addressed, and to all generations, — 'GO FORWARD.'
FORWARD, when all seems lost, and the cause looks utterly hopeless;
FORWARD, when brave hearts fail, and to yield is the rede of the coward;
FORWARD, when friends fall off, and enemies gather around thee;
Thou, though alone with thy God, alone in thy courage, GO FORWARD,
Help, though deferred, shall arrive; ere morn the night is at darkest."

NEALE'S "EGYPT."

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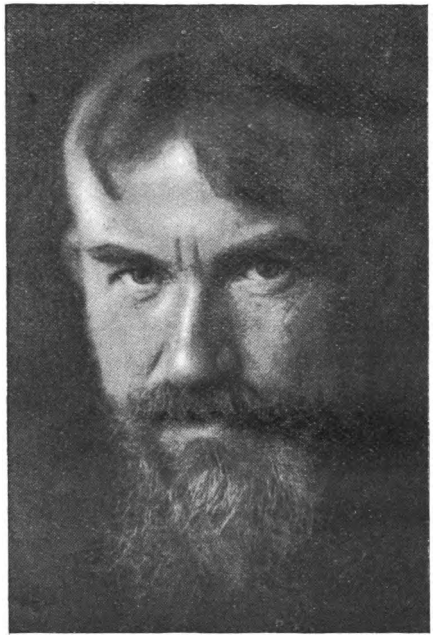

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

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Fourteenth Year of Issue.

The Reformers' Year Book, 1908.

Formerly

THE LABOUR ANNUAL.

JOINT EDITORS

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE

and . .

JOSEPH EDWARDS.

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PREFACE.

THE year 1907 has been remarkable for the startling development of interest in two questions—Socialism and the Enfranchisement of Women, subjects up till two years ago generally tabooed by politicians and the Press.

The interest of the man in the street in Socialism was first aroused by the return of 30 Labour Members to Parliament at the General Election, a success representing the emergence into the light of day of forces which had long been working silently underground. The woman's movement has been the bursting forth of a new and vigorous life for years bound fast by tradition and prejudice.

Men and women, sick of the failures of our modern civilisation, have given a ready ear to the advocates of these new forces, who claim that they come to preach a new gospel which shall regenerate our national society.

The interest in Socialism has been enormously quickened during 1907. Hardly a single great political speech has been made during the year from which the subject has been absent, hardly a copy of the daily Press has failed to make reference to it, and often in speech and in article it has been the principal theme of discussion.

Liberals have been at pains to defend or repudiate Socialism, or more often to show that they are Socialists up to a point and no further. Conservatives have explained that they favoured social reform as opposed to Socialism, and while some have used the Socialist cry as a stick with which to beat their old enemies the Liberals, others more far-seeing, led by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, have sought to rally together out of the combined forces of Liberalism and Conservatism a new anti-Socialist party with which to resist the inroads of their common foe.

The London County Council elections were the first great battle-ground, and resulted in a triumphant victory for the anti-Socialists (Moderates), who reduced the Independent Labour representation on the Council to a single member (Frank Smith), and the Progressive councillors, who had been socialistic in their policy, to a minority of 37 out of a total membership of the Council of 118.

On the other hand, in the provincial Municipal Elections the Socialists—contrary to the statements which appeared in the daily Press—gained ground, 45 losses being more than counterbalanced by 50 gains. (See p. 90.)

But it has been in the Parliamentary by-elections that the most striking results have to be recorded. Six seats were contested by avowed Socialists, and in two of these, with Liberal and Conservative both in the field, victories were won, Mr. Curran being a member of the Labour Party and Mr. Grayson an independent Socialist. These contests and the result demonstrated the hold of Socialism upon the popular imagination, and rendered unnecessary any further disclaimers by Liberal statesmen of the differentiation between themselves and the Socialists.

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In face of these facts the politicians, the Press, and the man in the street have all been busy deciding *first* that they opposed the new doctrine and *afterwards* trying to learn what it was that they opposed. There is some prospect that the real meaning of the word will before long be understood.

Socialism has two sides—firstly, it represents a theory of enterprise, and, secondly, a point of view on social reform. As to the first, most Socialists will be prepared to accept (with the omission of the words which we have set out in italics) the definition given by Mr. Balfour in his speech at Birmingham on November 14th, in which he said :—

> "Socialism has one meaning and one meaning only. Socialism means, and can mean nothing else than that the Community or the State is to take all the means of production into its own hands, that private enterprise *and private property* are to come to an end, and all that private enterprise *and private property* carry with them. That is Socialism, and nothing else is Socialism."

Mr. Balfour was right when he said that Socialism means public control of production, but he was wrong when he said that Socialism means the abolition of private property—that is quite outside the question of Socialism altogether.

On this purely mechanical side, Socialism is already largely come, and no sane man who has studied industrial history can doubt that its coming in many other directions is absolutely inevitable. Private production on a small scale, regulated by custom ; private production on a large scale, regulated by competition ; syndicated production, regulated by agreements ; monopoly production with an attempt at State control ; State production—these have been, and are, the natural steps in the development of industry and the ultimate as inevitably follows upon the penultimate as any previous step follows upon the one before. Under these circumstances, for any responsible statesman to describe Socialism as "impossible" or "ruinous" is either to show himself ignorant of his subject or to place himself in opposition to tendencies which are as inevitable as the ocean tide.

No doubt there are extremists whose ideals of the complete abolition of all private production will never come true (it is as unlikely that a man will be prevented from growing his own cabbage in his own garden as that the community will ever agree to have all its cemeteries and sewers and wash-houses a matter of private speculation) ; but what the practical man is concerned about is whether production by the public for the public is going to take place in additional enterprises, or whether it has already reached its limit ? It is in questions of the nationalisation of canals and of railways, of the municipalisation of the milk traffic, of the coal supply, and of many kindred subjects, that the present-day battle of Socialism is being fought, and when men like Sir John Brunner declare in favour of nationalising the canals (see pp. 92, 93), and men like Lord Swaythling (Sir Samuel Montague) actually say that one of the ways in which Socialism is to be fought is to nationalise the railways (see *Daily News*, Oct. 14th, 1907) there can be little doubt in which direction events are moving at the present time.

But Socialism is something more than a doctrine of public enterprise ; it is a point of view towards questions of the day ; and it is here, quite as much as in other directions, that it comes into conflict with established traditions.

The best Conservatism approaches social questions from a personal and human standpoint, it sees human poverty and destitution and crime as individual wrong, and as a blot on the fair honour of the rulers of the country.

The best Liberalism sees stunted lives and starved bodies as wasted opportunities, as a flaw in the industrial machine, and as an outrage upon human individuality.

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The true Socialism, which is the half-articulate attempt of men and women to express their feeling of corporate unity, sees in the loss and weakness of a part the deprivation of the whole, and of every part in consequence; is conscious that "we are all members one of another," and that the truly full and healthy life of anyone can only be accomplished by according health and opportunity to all. It is from this point of view that it regards such questions as unemployment, as the feeding of the school children, as the pensions of the old, and it is from this point of view that it will work for the readjustment of the mal-distribution of wealth as it exists to-day.

* * *

The growth of the woman's movement during the year has been extraordinary, and has outstripped the growth of any previous political movement in history. Already in two years it has a hold upon the electorate of the country which the Corn Law agitation hardly obtained in double that period when the electors were only one-tenth as numerous as they are to-day. The extraordinary devotion of women of all classes, many scores of whom have faced rough usage and prison, the complete absence of sex bitterness in the campaign, the essential femininess of the principal adherents of the cause have completely won over the People as a whole, and it only remains to-day for the members of the House of Commons to recognise the fact. Whether the Government will enfranchise women in 1908, or whether they will make a further appeal to the country without having done so, is now not so much a matter of concern to the women as to the Liberal Party, which will stand or fall largely on this issue.

* * *

On other questions of internal interest there has not been much to record during 1907 except to mention the settlement of the railway crisis by a compromise, which though not altogether satisfactory to Trade Unionists, has established a new principle of permanent arbitration under State control throughout the railway world.

In external affairs the most noteworthy features have been the failure of the Liberal Government to uphold Liberal principles in India (with regard to which the Hon. G. K. Gokhale of the Viceregal Council, contributes a special article on page 112 of this issue) and in Egypt (see p. 205), the great conflict between Roosevelt and the Trusts in America, the defeat of Socialism in Germany, the grant of Woman Suffrage in Finland, the futile "Peace Conference" at the Hague, and the Socialist reunion at Stuttgart.

The Editors draw attention to the section "Questions of the Day," which they have prepared with special regard to accuracy, and believe will prove of unique value to all who seek information upon matters of common interest during 1908. They also recommend the section relating to the Session of Parliament, Local Government, and the Status of Labour. They believe that the Press directories, directories of Reformers and of Reform Societies, of Trade Unions and Trades Councils, and the list of M.P.'s, with their private addresses, will be found of special value.* To all those who have assisted them in the production of the work they tender their most grateful thanks.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

4, Clement's Inn, W.C.,
November, 1907.

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* They will be glad to be informed of any corrections or alterations, and these should be sent direct to the Editor, *The Reformers' Year Book*, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C., before September 30th, 1908, for inclusion in the 1909 issue.

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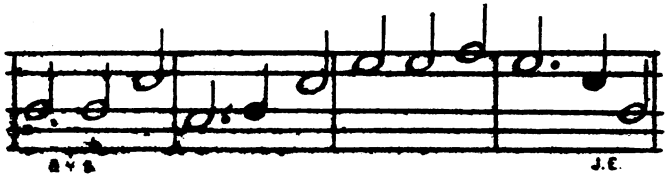

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CHRONOLOGY, 1906-7.

(For Parliamentary Chronology, see page 60.)

DECEMBER, 1906.

5. Domestic servants brought within scope of Compensation Bill.
7. Graduated tax on big incomes introduced in America.
8. Dispute among Italian shipping employés.
   Hull engineers cease work; 1,500 affected.
9. The Pope forbids clergy to recognise the Associations Law.
11. Papal official expelled from France; repressive measures against clergy.
    Banquet to women released from Holloway.
    Australian elections.
12. J. G. Watson, Labour Leader, returned to Australian Parliament.
    Text of Transvaal Constitution published.
13. Suffragists raid the House: Six arrests.
    Kaiser dissolves the Reichstag.
14. Australian election results: Labour, 26; Ministerialists, 17; Anti-Soc. Free T., 20; A.S. Protec., 12.
    Election campaign begins in Germany.
    Suffragists sent to Holloway for a fortnight.
15. Embankment and over-bridge trams first open to the public.
    L.G. Board consent to purchase of Hollesley Bay for unemployed.
16. Het Volk Congress accepts the new Constitution.
17. Eleven suffragists arrested at the House.
18. Deputation to Premier on land values taxation.
    Suffragists in court: Ten go to Holloway.
19. Complimentary dinner to D. J. Shackleton, M.P.
20. Suffragists raid the House: Five arrests.
21. Four Suffragettes sent to Holloway.
22. Austrian Electoral Reform Bill passed.
23. Spinners ask for an advance.
    Parliamentary Committee of Liberals on Women's Suffrage formed.
26. Indian National Congress opened at Calcutta.
28-29. Scottish Miners' Federation sittings in Glasgow.

JANUARY, 1907.

9. Murder of General Pavloff: St. Petersburg terrorised.
14. Annual Report of Foreign Labour in the Transvaal issued.
15. Sir Richard Solomon joins Rand Nationalists.
17. Deputation to Home Secretary on time-cribbing.
18. Bread riots in Madrid.
19. Duma elections: St. Petersburg workers vote Socialist.
21. Music-hall performers' strike: Five London halls closed.
22. Madrid bread riots: Police attack mobs.
23. Ministerial changes announced: Mr. Birrell appointed Irish Chief Secretary, and McKenna succeeds.
24. Opening of the Labour Party's Conference at Belfast.
    Music-hall war: Writs issued against artistes.
25. German elections take place.
26. Labour Conference and Women's Suffrage, Keir Hardie's statement.
27. German election returns: Socialists lose 20 seats.
28. Terrible mine disaster in Germany (St. Johann); 164 killed.
30. N.E. Derbyshire election result: Mr. Harvey (Liberal-Labour) returned.
    French Government refuse bishops' terms.
    Mr. Whiteley's will: £1,000,000 left to build almshouses.

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FEBRUARY.

6. Important Metal Trade Unions' amalgamation.
9. Women's Suffrage societies' demonstration: Procession and meetings.
   Government Workers' Federation: Annual meetings at Enfield.
   First meeting of Eastern Counties Labourers' Union.
10. Duma elections: Opposition secures victory.
11. Keir Hardie re-elected chairman of the Labour Party.
12. Opening of Parliament by the King.
13. Suffragist demonstration at Westminster: 58 arrests. Women ridden down by police.
14. Suffragists sentenced at Westminster Police Court: 53 go to Holloway.
15. Music-hall strike: Arbitrator's interim award issued.
17. J. Keir Hardie "ragged" at Cambridge.
18. President Roosevelt founds an Industrial Peace Society.
    Duma elections: Overwhelming return of Progressives.
20. Transvaal elections take place.
21. Wreck of the "Berlin."
23. General Botha called to form a Ministry.
27. Mr. Burns declines to receive unemployed women.
    King opens New Bailey: Speech on reform.
    Result of Transvaal Election: Het Volk, 37; Progressives, 21; Nationalists, 6; Labour, 3; Independents, 2. Anti-Chinese labour majority, 23.
    Release of 30 suffragists from Holloway Gaol.
28. Government refuses to revise constitution of Transvaal Upper House.

MARCH.

1. Famine in Russia.
2. L.C.C. elections.
   Lancashire women workers in Trafalgar Square.
4. Official report on Chinese in Transvaal issued.
5. New Duma formally opened.
6. Miners' eight-hours day affirmed in Belgian Chamber.
8. Strike of Paris electricians; city in darkness.
   Great meeting of Women's Social and Political Union at Exeter Hall.
12. French naval disaster.
15. Strike of bakers at Vienna.
    Vienna Council decides to commence municipal coal supply to small consumers.
16. Polling in Finland under Adult Suffrage; 19 women elected, including nine Socialists.
    Strike riots at Nantes.
    Hamburg dock dispute: English labourers take work.
17. Anti-sweating Conference at Woolwich.
    Steel-smelters' strike at Sheffield.
20. Women's demonstration at Caxton Hall: Marches on the House. 76 arrests.
21. Seamen's wages: International movement.
    Seventy-five suffragists go to Holloway.
24. Strike amongst pottery workers.
25. Disorders in Roumania.
26. National Union of Suffrage Societies' demonstration in Queen's Hall.
27. Women's Labour Conference in Paris.
    Engineers' Conference at Caxton Hall.
28. Fierce fighting in Roumania.
31. London Grocers' Assistants' Conference.
    S.D.F. Conference at Carlisle.

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APRIL.

1. I.L.P. Conference at Derby (two days).
   Conferences of Sub-postmasters, Postal Clerks, and Shop Assistants.
2. Russian Budget before the Duma.
9. Britain and United States to settle disputes by treaty.
   Miss Robins' play, "Votes for Women," at Court Theatre.
10. Starving Russian peasants refuse to pay taxes.
11. Lord Cromer resigns: Sir Eldon Gorst appointed Consul-General.
13. General Botha lands at Southampton.
14. Peace Congress opens in New York.
15. Duma appoints Agrarian Committee.
    Colonial Conference; speeches by Premiers.
16. Colonial Premiers in City.
18. Duma Committee asks money to relieve famine.
    Municipal Corporations Association at Guildhall.
19. End of Hamburg dock strike.
20. Land and Housing Demonstration at Drury Lane.
    President Roosevelt appoints Mr. Tyler, a negro, as Naval Auditor.
21. Elections in Spain.
22. March of 8,000 Woolwich men and women to London.
23. Duma Committee reports on Tortures of political prisoners.
24. Colonial Premiers' banquet in Westminster Hall.
    Transvaal Government refuses renewal of Chinese contracts.
26. "Standard" apologises for libel on County Councillors.
27. Socialists and clergy at Mirfield.
30. Von Bülow declares Germany will not discuss disarmament.

MAY.

3. Dockyard men and Lord Tweedmouth.
4. Socialists snatch majority in Reichstag: Resignation of Vice-president.
   Russian courts-martial end after 1,150 executions.
5. Transvaal labour troubles: Strike movement spreading.
7. Imperial Conference discards idea of British Zollverein.
   Birrell announces Irish Devolution Scheme.
9. Trial of Haywood begins in Idaho.
   Arrest and deportation, without trial, of Lajpat Rai, by Indian Government.
10. Sweden adopts Proportional Representation.
12. Railwaymen's All-grade Meetings throughout country.
13. Russian Socialist delegates commence conference in London.
    John Morley defends deportation of Lajpat Rai.
14. Imperial Conference concludes.
16. Women Suffragists and Haldane: Scene at Alexandra Palace meeting.
17. Dublin Council rejects Birrell's Bill.
19. Austrian elections: Great Socialist vote, 57 returned first ballot.
20. Co-operators' three-days' Conference opens at Preston.
21. Irish National Convention rejects Birrell's Bill.
24. Russian Socialists welcomed at Holborn Town Hall.
26. Austrian second ballots: Socialist Party numbers 82.
28. Birmingham Education Committee decide in favour of free meals for Children.
31. Meeting of W.S.P.U. in Exeter Hall.

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JUNE.

3. Arrest and deportation of Ajit Singh, Hindoo leader.
4. Church Socialist League Conference at Scarborough.
6-8. National Liberal Federation at Plymouth.
6. Adulteration of French wines: Growing agitation among vine-growers of South.
9. Demonstrations of vine-growers; 600,000 peasants declare strike against taxes.
11. French Chamber rejects Socialist proposal to nationalise wine industry.
Women's Liberal Association discuss remedies for sweating.
12. Ferrer, Spanish Anarchist, acquitted after 12 months' imprisonment without trial.
14. Norwegian Chamber enfranchises women.
Tsar demands expulsion of Socialist deputies from Duma.
15. Peace Conference opens at the Hague: Fulsome telegram to Tsar.
16. Tsar dissolves Duma.
Vine-growers' revolt: 600 Communal Councils resign in a body.
17. French Women Suffragists demonstrate outside French Chamber of Deputies.
Yorkshire Miners' Demonstration: 100,000 miners at Barnsley.
18. Mark Twain lands in England.
19. Vine-growers' war: Arrest of leaders.
26. Belfast carters' strike: Soldiers encamp on quays.
27. Report of Committee on Woolwich Arsenal Discharges issued.

JULY.

5. Mr. Burnett, Chief Labour Correspondent to Board of Trade, retires.
8. State pensions for Sir F. Burnand, George Howell, and John Davidson.
9. Teachers' Training Colleges freed from religious tests.
Herbert Burrows retires from Inland Revenue Department.
10. United States Government threatens dissolution of Tobacco Trust.
Chief Factory Inspectors' Report: Revelations of child labour.
12. Keir Hardie sails for voyage round world.
14. Trafalgar Square meeting against Russian entente: Savage onslaught by police.
17. Friends of Peace protest against British Hague delegates' inaction.
Lever Bros. recover £50,000 damages and costs for newspaper libel.
19. Japan's Egypt: Fighting in Korean capital.
22. London train, tram, and 'bus companies, representing £50,000,000 capital, form traffic ring.
23. Education Board reject rifle training for elementary schools.
Von Bülow appeals to friendliness of French people.
Cape Assembly unanimously supports South African Federation.
24. Dr. Gore asks for Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities.
25. Select Committee on Postal Servants: Report generally condemned.
Disaffection among Belfast police.
26. Lord Carrington on Crown allotments.
28. Idaho trial: Haywood acquitted.
W. T. Stead condemns British Peace delegates.
L.C.C. and Socialist Sunday Schools: Demonstration in Trafalgar Square.
30. Sir J. T. Brunner on nationalised canals.
31. Massacre of Europeans at Casa Blanca.

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AUGUST.

3. International Housing Congress opens in London.
   Standard Oil Trust fined thirty million dollars.
5. Congress on School Hygiene opens in London.
   International Temperance Congress at Stockholm.
7. Military rule in Belfast.
8. Railway companies continue to declare against men's society.
12. Esperanto Congress opens at Cambridge.
    Soldiers fire on Belfast crowd; two deaths.
13. Parliament and Belfast: Government to withdraw troops.
16. Belfast strike ended.
18. International Socialist Congress opens at Stuttgart.
19. Hague Congress: Pious resolution on disarmament.
21. Co-operative Exhibition and Festival at Crystal Palace.
    Stuttgart Congress condemns English rule in India.
22. New South Wales rebels against Federal tariff.
    H. Quelch expelled from Stuttgart by Wurtemburg Government.
29. John Redmond in Co. Donegal: Warning to Liberal Party.
30. Anglo-Russian agreement signed in St. Petersburg.

SEPTEMBER.

2. Trade Union Congress opens at Bath.
   Inquest on victims of Belfast shooting.
   Labour Day in the United States; prohibition of Red Flag.
3. Northumberland Miners decide by 16,230 votes to 3,613 to join Miners' Federation.
4. Renewed attacks on British blacklegs at Antwerp.
   Heavy fighting in Morocco: French losses.
7. Trade Union Congress, final sitting.
9. Anti-Asiatic riots in Vancouver: Japanese rout Canadian mob.
10. Rise in the price of bread.
11. Chandra Pal, Hindoo leader, sentenced to six months' imprisonment at Calcutta for refusing to give evidence.
12. Board of Education to create a Medical Department.
13. French President's reprieve of Soleilland taken as virtual abolition of guillotine.
15. Railwaymen's agitation: Mr. Bell at Manchester. Ballot to be taken as to next step.
16. German Social Democratic Conference at Essen.
17. Cape Ministry, defeated on Protectionist proposals, resigns office.
18. Shipbuilding employers threaten to lock-out all union boilermakers.
    International Miners' Congress at Salzburg.
20. International Miners discuss possible common action to prevent war.
24. Anglo-Russian Compact published: Division of Persia.
25. Conference of women at Frankfurt. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Annie Kenney represent W.S.P.U.
26. Strike of girls at Coats's mills: 4,000 workers idle.
29. Mutiny among men-of-war crews at Sevastopol.

OCTOBER.

2. Riots in Calcutta.
7. Railway Servants' Annual Conference, Manchester.
8. Miners' Federation Annual Conference, Southport.
10. Great Hungarian demonstration for universal suffrage.
12. Karl Liebknedit, anti-militarist, sentenced to 18 months in fortress.
14. Railway Association declines conference with unions.
15. Guildhall Conference on Women's Work.
16. World's Shipping Federation in London; scheme for international blackleg supply.
17. Marconi wireless telegraphy between Canada and Ireland.
18. Hague Peace Conference closes.
    Midland Railway establishes blackleg camps.
21. Annual Conference of Women Workers at Manchester.
22. Great financial panic in New York.
25. Railway chiefs at Board of Trade.

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OBITUARY.

1906.

Dec. 30. Mrs. JOSEPHINE BUTLER, social reformer and advocate of women's interests.

„ 30. BARONESS BURDETT-COUTTS, 92.

1907.

Jan. 3. ERNEST H. CROSBY, Tolstyan, 51.

„ 13. Hon. Mrs. ARTHUR LYTTLETON, Woman Suffragist. Was editress of Women's Section of *Guardian*.

„ 29. HELEN TAYLOR, democrat and social reformer, 75. Stepdaughter of John Stuart Mill, and joint author with him of "The Subjection of Women." Supporter of Henry George and member of Irish Land League. On London School Board, '82 to '91.

Feb. 27. HODGSON PRATT, advocate of International Peace and supporter of Productive methods in industry.

Mar. 18. MARCELIN BERTHELOT, great chemist, 80. Made many discoveries of great public benefit, and always refused to turn them to his own advantage. Minister Educ. '86; Foreign Minister '95; life Senator.

April 4. Rev. CANON MCCOLL, friend of Gladstone and Armenian champion.

„ 10. IGNAZ AUER, General Secretary of German Social Democratic Party, 61. Banished in '79, and on return to Bavaria, imprisoned. Afterwards General Secretary of Social Democrats, and deeply respected. More than 100,000 men marched in his funeral procession.

„ 10. Ald. W. H. BROWN, member C. W. Society's Board, 60.

May 31. KARL BLIND, democrat and progressist, 80. As student of 22 fought for German freedom in '48; associate of Mazzini and Garibaldi; imprisoned in Germany, Switzerland, and France. Sentenced to 8 years in Mayence prison, but rescued by populace.

June — B. KIRKMAN GRAY, Fabian: lecturer and historian. Wrote "History of Philanthropy"; was completing sequel on Development of Social Politics.

Aug. 27. Mrs. GRACE M. OAKESHOTT, Secretary of Technical Education Committee, Women's Industrial Council, 35. The first trade school in London was established in 1904 by Borough Polytechnic on her representations. In 1905 the L.C.C. began to organise trade classes, and appointed Mrs. Oakeshott as Inspector.

Sept. 4. EDVARD GRIEG, great Norwegian composer.

„ 4. GEORGE ALLEN, publisher of Ruskin's works, 76. In '57 engraver for Ruskin; from '72 Ruskin's publisher, producing beautiful specimens of typography.

„ 29. JULIUS MOTTELER, a founder of the German Social Democratic Party, 69. Three times elected to Reichstag. Lived in England many years. During Anti-Socialist law, successfully managed the conveyance of prohibited literature into Germany from Zurich and London; hence became famous as "The Red Postmaster." Member for Leipzig from 1903.

Oct. 8. JOHN CARVELL WILLIAMS, 60 years an advocate of religious freedom and church reform, 86. Secretary of Liberation Society from 1847 to 1877; afterwards Chairman of its Executive. M.P. South Nottingham '85, Mansfield '92-1900; organised fight against Church Rates, for admission of Jews to Parliament, of Nonconformists to Universities, and other such reforms.

„ 29. GERRALD MASSEY, Socialist Poet, 79.

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THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Strength of Parties.

THE strength of parties in the House of Commons as the result of the General Election of January, 1906, compared with the position on November 1st, 1907, was as follows :—

	January, 1906.	November, 1907.	Increase or Decrease.
Official Liberals	380	374	−6
Trade-union Group	21	23	+2
Unionists	156	157*	+1
Nationalists	83	83	—
Labour Party	30	31	+1
Independent Socialists	—	1	+1
	670	669*	—

*Although the Unionists won two seats at by-elections, they lost a seat through the voiding of the Worcester City election and disfranchisement of the constituency.

Change in Balance.

Allowing in each case for the loss of the Worcester seat and the loss of another Unionist vote by the election of the Rt. Hon. J. W. Lowther, as Speaker, the change in the balance of parties on November 1st, 1907, was as follows :—

	January, 1906.	November 1907.
Official Liberals over all others	90	79
Official and Trade Union Liberals over others	132	125
All other parties over Unionists	358	355

The Miners' Vote.

There are 18 Miners' representatives in the House. The two Lancashire and Cheshire representatives, and J. W. Taylor (Durham) are already in the Labour Party. The remaining 15 are in the Trade Union Group. These are made up as follows: Durham 2, Northumberland 2, South Wales 4, Yorkshire 2, Derbyshire 2, and Midlands 3. Durham has already voted for Independence at the next General Election. The remaining 13 are in the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

In 1906 the Federation voted upon the question of joining the Labour Party, and the voting was: For, 92,222; against, 101,714. Since then the feeling in favour of independence has steadily grown, and in October, 1907, at the Conférence of the Federated Associations a resolution was adopted declaring that the time had come for joining the Labour Party and ordering a ballot of the whole Federation area to be taken. At the ballot of 1906 the South Wales and Yorkshire miners both gave majorities for joining, the former by 41,843 to 31,527, and the latter by 17,399 to 12,730. Scotland, Cumberland, and Bristol also voted for affiliation.

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It is practically a foregone conclusion that the proposal will be carried, in which case the 15 Miners' representatives now sitting on the Ministerial benches will cross the House and practically double the effective power of the Labour Party as against the Government.

The Trade Union Group will then practically cease to exist. The Railway Servants have decided that all their candidates at the next election must join the Labour Party, therefore Richard Bell must sign the constitution of the Labour Party or retire in favour of some one who will. Of the remaining seven members of the group, W. C. Steadman is the only recognised leader of Trade Unionism.

THE LABOUR PARTY (31).

BARNES, G. N.—Blackfriars, Glasgow.

108, Peckham Road, S.E.

Barnes (Lab.)	**3,284**
Law (U.)	2,974
Provand (L.)	2,058
Majority	310

Previous election, 1900: Law (U.), 4,130; Provand (L.), 3,140.

BOWERMAN, C. W.—Deptford.

4, Battledean Road, Highbury, N.

Bowerman (Lab.)	**6,236**
Morton (C.)	4,977
Vivian (L.)	726
Majority	1,259

Previous election, 1900: Morton (U), 6,236; Jones (Lab.), 3,806.

CLYNES, J. R.—Manchester, N.E.

43, Ravenscourt Gardens, Hammersmith, W.

Clynes (Lab.)	**5,386**
Fergusson (C.)	2,954
Majority	2,432

Previous election, 1900: Fergusson (U.), 4,316; Birrell (L.), 3,610.

CROOKS, WILL.—Woolwich.

81, Gough Street, Poplar, E.

Crooks (Lab.)	**9,026**
Adams (C.)	6,914
Majority	2,112

Previous election, March, 1903: Crooks (Lab.), 8,687; Drage (U.), 5,458.

CURRAN, P.—Jarrow, Durham.

1, Pretoria Avenue, Walthamstow.

Curran (Lab.)	**4,698**
Rose-Innes (C.)	3,930
Hughes (L.)	3,474
O'Hanlon (N.)	2,124
Majority	768

Previous election, Jan., 1906: Palmer (L.), 8,047; Curran (Lab.), 5,093.

DUNCAN, C.—Barrow-in-Furness

16, Agincourt Road, Hampstead, N.W.

Duncan (Lab.)	**5,167**
Cayzer (C.)	3,395
Majority	1,772

Previous election, 1900: Cayzer (U.) returned unopposed.

GILL, ALF. HENRY.—Bolton.

97, Kennington Road, S.E.

Harwood (L.)	**10,953**
Gill (Lab.)	**10,416**
Goschen (C.)	6,693
Labour majority	3,723

Previous election, 1900: Cross (U.) and Harwood (L.) returned unopposed.

GLOVER, T.—St. Helens.

56, Bickerstaffe Street, St. Helens.

Glover (Lab.)	**6,088**
Seton-Karr (C.)	4,647
Majority	1,441

Previous election, 1900: Seton-Karr (U.), 5,300; Conybeare (L.), 3,403.

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HARDIE, J. K.—Merthyr Tydvil.

14, Nevill's Court, E.C.

Thomas (L.)	**13,971**
Hardie (Lab.)	**10,187**
Radcliffe (I.L.)	7,776
Majority	2,411

Previous election, 1900: Thomas (L.), 8,598; Hardie (Lab.), 5,745; Pritchard Morgan (L.), 4,044.

HENDERSON, ARTHUR.—Barnard Castle, Durham.

Teesdale, Atherfold Road, Clapham, S.W.

Henderson (Lab.)	**5,540**
Bell (C.)	3,888
Majority	1,652

Previous election, July, 1903: Henderson (Lab.), 3,370; Vane (U.), 3,323; Beaumont (L.), 2,809.

HODGE, J.—Gorton, Lancs., S.E.

Ormond Mansions, Gt. Ormond St., W.C.

Hodge (Lab.)	**8,566**
Royse (C.)	4,341
Majority	4,225

Previous election, 1900: Hatch (U.), 5,761; Ward (Lab.), 5,241.

HUDSON, W.—Newcastle.

22, Atherfold Road, Clapham, S.W.

Hudson (Lab.)	**18,869**
Cairns (L.)	**18,423**
Plummer (C. Bal.)	11,942
Renwick (C. Cham.)	11,223
Lab. maj. over U.	6,927

Previous election, 1900: Plummer (U.), 15,097; Renwick (U.), 14,752; Storey (L.), 10,488; Lambton (L.), 10,453.

JENKINS, JOHN.—Chatham.

90, Gower Street, W.C.

Jenkins (Lab.)	**6,692**
Jameson (C.)	4,020
Majority	2,672

Previous election, 1900: Davies (U.) returned unopposed.

JOWETT, F. W.—Bradford, W.

2, Grantham Place, Bradford.

Jowett (Lab.)	**4,957**
Flower (C.)	4,147
Claridge (L.)	3,580
Majority	810

Previous election, 1900: Flower (U.), 4,990; F. W. Jowett (Lab.), 4,940.

KELLEY, G. D.—Manchester, S.W.

97, Kennington Road, S.E.

Kelley (Lab.)	**4,101**
Galloway (C.)	2,875
Majority	1,226

Previous election, 1900: Galloway (U.), 4,017; Brocklehurst (Lab.), 2,398.

MACDONALD, J. R.—Leicester.

3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.

Broadhurst (Lib.-Lab.)	**14,745**
Macdonald (Lab.)	**14,685**
Rolleston (C. Bal.)	7,504
Majority	7,181

Previous election, 1900: Broadhurst (L.), 10,385; Rolleston (C.), 9,066; Hazell (L.), 8,528; Macdonald (Lab.), 4,164.

MACPHERSON, J. T.—Preston.

c/o Ormond Mansions, Great Ormond Street, W.C.

Macpherson (Lab.)	**10,181**
Cox (L.)	**8,538**
Kerr (C.)	7,303
Tomlinson (C.)	6,856
Majority	2,878

Previous election, May, 1903: Kerr (U.), 8,639; Hodge (Lab.), 6,490.

O'GRADY, JAS.—Leeds, East.

26, Kyrle Road, Clapham, S.W.

O'Grady (Lab.)	**4,299**
Cautley (C.)	2,208
Majority	2,091

Previous election, 1900: Cautley (U.), 3,453: Maguire (L.), 1,586; Byles (H.R. and Lab.), 1,266.

PARKER, JAMES.—Halifax.

22, Salisbury Place, Halifax.

Whitley (L.)	**9,354**
Parker (Lab.)	**8,937**
Crossley (C.)	5,041
Labour majority	3,896

Previous election, 1900: Crossley (U.), 5,931; Whitley (L.), 5,543; Billson (L.), 5,325; Parker (Lab.), 3,276.

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RICHARDS, T. F.—Wolverhampton, West.

115, Knollys Road, Streatham, S.W.

Richards (Lab.)	**5,767**
Hickman (C.)	5,588
Majority	179

Previous election, 1900: Hickman (U.) returned unopposed.

ROBERTS, G. H.—Norwich.

6, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Roberts (Lab.)	**11,059**
Tillett (L.)	**10,972**
Wild (C.)	7,460
Labour majority	3,599

Previous election, January, 1904: Tillett (L.), 8,576; Wild (U.), 6,754; Roberts (Lab.), 2,440.

SEDDON, J. A.—Newton, Lancs., S.W.

27, Doughty Street, W.C.

Seddon (Lab.)	**6,434**
Pilkington (C.)	5,893
Majority	541

Previous election, 1900: Pilkington (U.) unopposed.

SHACKLETON, D. J.—Clitheroe, Lancs., N.E.

51, London Terrace, Darwen.

Shackleton (Lab.)	**12,035**
Belton (Ind.)	3,828
Majority	8,207

Previous election, 1902: Shackleton returned unopposed.

SNOWDEN, PHILIP.—Bl'kburn.

10, Baron's Court Road, W.

Hornby (C.)	**10,291**
Snowden (Lab.)	**10,282**
Drage (C.)	8,932
Hamer (L.)	8,892
Labour majority	1,350

Previous election, 1900: Hornby (U.), 11,247; Coddington (U.), 9,415; Snowden (Lab.), 7,096.

SUMMERBELL, T.—Sunderland.

14, Vincent Street, Sunderland.

Stuart (L.)	**13,620**
Summerbell (Lab.)	**13,430**
Haggie (C.)	7,879
Pemberton (C.F.T.)	7,244
Majority	5,551

Previous election, 1900: Doxford (U.), 9,617; Pemberton (U.), 9,566; Hunter (L.), 9,370; Wilkie (Lab.), 8,842.

TAYLOR, J. W.—Chester-le-St., Durham.

97, Kennington Road, S.E.

Taylor (Lab.)	**8,085**
Shafto (C.)	4,985
Tebb (L.)	4,606
Labour majority over Con.	3,100

Previous election, 1900: Joicey (L.), 5,830; Nicholson (C.), 5,391.

THORNE, WILL.—West Ham, S.

172, Pentonville Road, N.

Thorne (Lab.)	**10,210**
Nutting (C.)	4,973
Majority	5,237

Previous election, 1900: Banes (U.), 5,615; Thorne (Lab.), 4,419.

WALSH, S.—Ince, Lancs., S.W.

8, Swinley Road, Wigan.

Walsh (Lab.)	**8,046**
Blundell (C.)	3,410
Majority	4,636

Previous election, 1900: Blundell (U.) returned unopposed.

WARDLE, G. J.—Stockport.

251, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.

Wardle (Lab.)	**7,299**
Duckworth (L.)	**6,544**
Barnston (C.)	4,591
O'Neill (C.)	4,064
Labour majority	2,708

Previous election, 1900: Leigh (L.), 5,666; Melville (U.), 5,377; Green (L.), 5,200; Hillier (U.), 5,098.

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WILKIE, ALEX.—Dundee.

33, Grove Road, Brixton, S.W.

Robertson (L.)	**9,276**
Wilkie (Lab.)	**6,833**
Robson (L.)	6,122
Shackleton (C.)	3,865
Smith (C.)	3,183
Labour majority	711

Previous election, 1900: Robertson (L.), 7,777; Leng (L.), 7,650; Smith (U.), 5,181; Graham (U.), 5,152.

WILSON, W. T.—

West Houghton, Lancs., S.E.

248, Oxford Grove, Bolton.

Wilson (Lab.)	**9,262**
Stanley (C.)	6,134
Majority	3,128

Previous election, 1900: Lord Stanley (U.) returned unopposed.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS (I).

GRAYSON, VICTOR.—Colne Valley, Yorks., W.R.

Grayson (Soc.)	**3,648**
Bright (L.)	3,495
Wheler (C.)	3,227
Majority	153

TRADE-UNION LABOUR PARTY (23).

ABRAHAM, W.—Rhondda.

Pentre, Rhondda, Glam.

Abraham (Miners) .. .. Unopposed

BELL, R.—Derby.

72, Acton Street, Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.

Bell (Railwaymen)	**10,361**
Roe (L.)	**10,239**
Holford (C.)	6,421
Churchill (C.)	6,409
Lab. majority over Con.	3,940

BRACE, W.—Glamorgan, S.

Bryn Ivor, Abertillery, Glam.

Brace (Miners)	**10,514**
Wyndham-Quin (C.)	6,096
Majority	4,418

BURT, Rt. Hon. T.—Morpeth.

20, Burdon Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne

Burt (Miners)	**5,518**
Coates (C.)	1,919
Majority	3,599

CREMER, Sir W. R.—Haggerston.

11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.

Cremer (Lib.-Lab.)	**2,772**
Guinness (C.)	2,371
Majority	401

EDWARDS, ENOCH.—Hanley.

Miners' Offices, Burslem.

Edwards (Miners)	**9,183**
Heath (C.)	4,287
Majority	4,896

FENWICK, C.—

Northumberland, Wansbeck.

95, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.E.

Fenwick (Miners)	**10,386**
Riddell (U.)	3,210
Majority	7.176

HALL, FRED.—Normanton.

Rawmarsh, Rotherham.

Hall (Miners) .. .. .. Unopposed

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HARVEY, W. E.—Derbyshire, N.E.

Miners' Offices, Chesterfield.

Harvey (Miners)	**6,644**
Court (C.)	5,915
Majority	729

HASLAM, J.—Chesterfield.

Clarence Road, Chesterfield.

Haslam (Miners)	**7,254**
Locker-Lampson (C.)	5,590
Majority	1,664

JOHNSON, JOHN.—Gateshead.

20, The Avenue, Durham.

Johnson (Miners)	**9,651**
Angier (C.)	5,126
Majority	4,525

JOHNSON, WM.—Nuneaton.

Bedworth, Warwickshire.

Johnson (Miners)	**7,677**
Newdegate (C.)	5,849
Majority	1,828

MADDISON, F.—Burnley.

12, Acre's Street, Wandsworth, S.W.

Maddison (Lib.-Lab)	**5,288**
Arbuthnot (U.)	4,964
Hyndman (S.D.F.)	4,932
Majority	324

NICHOLS, G.—Northants, N.

Chesterton, Staffs.

Nichols (Lib.-Lab.)	**4,880**
Sackville (C.)	4,195
Majority	685

RICHARDS, T.—Monmouthshire, W.

Ty-Ceudt, Beaufort, Mon.

Richards (Miners) .. .. **Unopposed**

STANLEY, A.—Staffordshire, N.W.

Woods-Eaves, Hednesford, Staffs.

Stanley (Miners)	**7,396**
Twyford (C.)	5,047
Majority	2,349

STEADMAN, W. C.—Finsbury, Central.

69, Thornton Avenue, Turnham Green, W.

Steadman (Barge-builders)	**3,493**
Goulding (C.)	2,799
Majority	694

VIVIAN, H.—Birkenhead.

3, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

Vivian (Lib.-Lab.)	**7,074**
Lees (C.)	5,271
Kensit (Prot.)	2,118
Majority	1,803

WADSWORTH, J.—Yorks, Hallamshire.

Miners' Offices, Barnsley.

Wadsworth (Miners)	**8,375**
Kelley (C.)	6,807
Majority	1,568

WARD, JOHN.—Stoke-on-Trent.

129, Elmsleigh Road, East Hill, Wandsworth, S.W.

Ward (Navvies)	**7,660**
Coghill (U.)	4,288
Majority	3,372

WILLIAMS, J.—Gower.

Edwards Road, Swansea.

Williams (Miners)	**4,841**
Williams (L.)	4,522
Helme (C.)	1,939
Majority	319

WILSON, HAVELOCK.—Middlesbrough.

Maritime Hall, West India Dock Rd., E.

Wilson (Seamen)	**9,271**
Sadler (C.)	6,864
Lansbury (Soc.)	1,484
Majority	2,407

WILSON, JOHN.—Durham, Mid.

20, Up. Kennington Lane, S.E.

Wilson (Miners) .. .. **Unopposed**

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OFFICIAL LIBERALS (374).

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Acland, F. D., 118, Grosvenor Road, S.W.	108	Yorks., Richmond.
Adkins, Ryland, 3, Paper Buildings, E.C.	1533	Lancs., Middleton.
Agnew, G. W., 242, St. James's Court, S.W.	2210	Salford, W.
Ainsworth, J. S., 55, Eaton Place, S.W.	1495	Argyllshire.
Alden, P., 1, Woburn Square, W.C.	2950	Tottenham.
Allen, A. A., 47, Onslow Square, S.W.	567	Christchurch.
Allen, C. P., National Liberal Club, S.W.	1180	Gloucester, Stroud.
Armitage, R., 58, Green Street, W.	1069	Leeds, Central.
Ashton, T. G., 39, Prince's Gardens, S.W.	1858	Beds., Luton.
Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H., Cavendish Square, W.	1434	Fife, E.
Astbury, J. M., K.C., 16, Grenville Place, S.W.	240	Lancs., Southport.
Atherley-Jones, L., 25, Pembroke Road, W.	5154	Durham, N.W.
Baker, J. Allen, Willesden Junction, N.W.	689	Finsbury, E.
Baker, Sir J., National Liberal Club, S.W.	2064	Portsmouth.
Balfour, R., 6, Crosby Square, E.C.	1517	Lanark, Partick.
Baring, G., 195, Queen's Gate, S.W.	1561	Hants., Isle of Wight.
Barker, J., Old Court Mansions., Kens., W.	97	Penryn and Falmouth.
Barlow, Sir J. E., Bart., Brooks's Club, S.W.	1745	Somerset, Frome.
Barlow, P., Torkington House, Acton, W.	493	Bedford.
Barnard, E. B., 4, Victoria Street, S.W.	271	Kidderminster.
Barran, R. H., Bath Club, Dover Street, W.	2485	Leeds, North.
Barry, R., K. C., 72, Lower Baggot St., Dublin	7	Tyrone, N.
Beale, W. P., K.C., 10, New Ct., Carey St., W.C.	1242	Ayrshire, S.
Beaumont, Hon. H. G., 6, Buckingham Gate, S.W.	1605	Suffolk, Lowestoft.
Beaumont, H. G., 6, Buckingham Gate, S.W.	630	Sussex, Eastbourne.
Beck, A. C., Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.	1045	Wisbech.
Bellairs, Lieut. C., 1, Morpeth Terrace, S.W.	342	King's Lynn.
Belloc, H. V. P., 75, Victoria Street, S.W.	852	Salford, S.
Benn, Sir J. W., Old Knoll, Blackheath, S.E.	1288	Devonport.
Benn, W. W., Old Knoll, Blackheath, S.E.	621	St. George's-in-the-East.
Bennett, E. N., Reform Club, S.W.	441	Woodstock.
Berridge, T. H. D., 49, Rutland Gate, S.W.	209	Warwick.
Bertram, J., 14, Suffolk Street, S.W.	76	Herts., Hitchin.
Bethell, Sir J. H., Park House, Wanstead	8855	Essex, Romford.
Bethell, T. R., 2, Garden Court, Temple, E.C.	149	Essex, Maldon.
Birrell, Rt. Hon. A., Irish Offices, W.	2942	Bristol, N.
Black, A. W., Alexandra Park, Nottingham	2604	Beds., Biggleswade.
Bottomley, H., 56, Pall Mall, S.W.	3479	Hackney, S.
Boulton, A. C. F., 2, Pump Court, E.C.	381	Hunts., Ramsey.
Bramsdon, T. A., St. Ermin's Hotel, S.W.	2328	Portsmouth.
Branch, J., 24, Fontayne Road, Stoke Newington, N.	2116	Middlesex, Enfield.
Bright, J. A., 9, Hanover Terrace, N.W.	4683	Oldham.
Brigg, J., Kilderwick Hall, near Keighley	2093	Yorks., Keighley.
Brocklehurst, Col. W. B., Prestbury, Macclesfield	494	Macclesfield.
Brodie, H. C., Shrubhurst, Oxted, Surrey	219	Surrey, Reigate.
Brooke, Stopford W., 34, De Vere Gdns., W.	622	Bow.
Brunner, J. F. L., 23, Wetherby Gardens, S.W.	2005	Lancs., Leigh.
Brunner, Sir J. T., Bart., 9, Ennismore Gdns., S.W.	1792	Northwich.
Bryce, J. A., 35, Bryanston Square, W.	558	Inverness Burghs.
Buchanan, T. R., 12, South Street, W.	1090	Perthshire, E.
Buckmaster, S. O., K.C., 1, Porchester Ter., W.	308	Cambridge.
Burns, Rt. Hon. J., 37, Lavender Gardens, Lavender Hill, S.W.	1600	Battersea.
Burnyeat, W. J. D., Goldsmith Building, Temple, E.C.	313	Whitehaven.
Buxton, Rt. Hon. S., 7, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.	2311	Poplar.
Byles, W. P., 8, Chalcot Gardens, Hampstead	1187	Salford, N.
Cairns, T., St. James's Court, S.W.	6481	Newcastle-on-Tyne.

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Name and Address.	Majority.	Constituency.
Caldwell, J., 107, Holland Road, Kensington, W.	2776	Lanark, Mid.
Cameron, R., 56, Victoria Street, S.W.	5790	Durham, Houghton-le-Springs.
Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H., Downing Street, S.W.	unop.	Stirling Burghs.
Carr-Gomm, H. W., 10, Westminster Mansions, Gt. Smith Street, S.W.	1371	Rotherhithe.
Causton, Rt. Hon. R. K., 12, Devonshire Place.	465	Southwark, W.
Cawley, Sir F., Bart., 2, Ryder St., St. James's	4163	Lancs., Prestwich.
Chance, F. W., 33, Bury St., St. James's	unop.	Carlisle.
Channing, Sir F. A., 40, Eaton Place, S.W.	3693	Northants, E.
Cheetham, J. F., 33, Prince's Gdns., S.W.	454	Stalybridge.
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R., 92, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin	121	Liverpool, Exchange.
Churchill, Rt. Hon. Winston, 12, Bolton St., W.	1241	Manchester, N.W.
Clarke, C. Goddard, South Lodge, Champion Hill, S.E.	2339	Peckham.
Cleland, J. W., 4, Harcourt Bldgs., Temple, E.C.	1566	Glasgow, Bridgton.
Clough, W., Steeton, Keighley, Yorks.	233	Yorks., Skipton.
Coats, Sir T. Glen, Bart., Ferguslie, Paisley	1368	Renfrew, W.
Cobbold, F. T., 3, Whitehall Court, S.W.	1709	Ipswich.
Collins, Sir W. J., 1, Albert Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.	655	St. Pancras, W.
Collins, Stephen, St. Ann's Hill, Wandsworth	1585	Kennington.
Cooper, Dr. G. J., 92, Southwark Park Rd., S.E.	1759	Bermondsey.
Corbett, C. H., Artillery Mansions, S.W.	262	East Grinstead.
Cornwall, Sir E. A., 3, Whitehall Court, S.W.	1997	Bethnal Green.
Cory, Sir C. J., Bart., Prince's Hotel, Jermyn Street, S.W.	1192	Cornwall, St. Ives.
Cotton, Sir H. J., 45, St. John's Wood Park, N.W.	1730	Nottingham, E.
Cowan, W. H., 7, Hanover House, Regent's Park, N.W.	800	Surrey, Guildford.
Cox, H., 6, Raymond's Bldgs., Grays Inn, W.C.	1235	Preston.
Craig, H. J., Palace Chambers, S.W.	764	Tynemouth.
Crombie, J. W., 91, Onslow Square, S.W.	2353	Kincardineshire.
Crosfield, A. H., Hyde Park Hotel, W.	1500	Warrington.
Crossley, W. J., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.	2691	Cheshire, Altrincham.
Dalmeny, Lord, 38, Berkeley Square, W.	3217	Midlothian.
Dalziel, J. H., Reform Club, S.W.	3249	Kirkcaldy Burghs.
Davies, David, 29, St. James's Street, S.W.	unop.	Montgomeryshire.
Davies, Ellis W., House of Commons	unop.	Carnarvon, Eifion.
Davies, M. Vaughan, 17, Hyde Park Gardens, W.	2869	Cardiganshire.
Davies, T., Pantycelyn, East Putney	630	Fulham.
Davies, W. Howell, 4, Whitehall Court, S.W.	2692	Bristol, S.
Dewar, A., K.C., 169, Queen's Gate, S.W.	2960	Edinburgh, S.
Dewar, Sir J. A., Bart., 19, Belgrave Sq., S.W.	2108	Inverness-shire.
Dickinson, W. H., 51, Campden Hill Road, W.	1482	St. Pancras, N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir J., Bart., Chesterfield Gardens, W.	1966	Wilts, Chippenham.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W., 76, Sloane Street, S.W.	unop.	Gloucester, Forest of Dean.
Dobson, T. W., 18, Park Hill Road, Croydon	2474	Plymouth.
Duckworth, J., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.	1953	Stockport.
Duncan, J. H., 24, Rosary Gardens, S.W.	1649	Yorks., Otley.
Dunn, A. E., 70, Victoria Street, S.W.	2230	Cornwall, Camborne.
Dunne, Major, 23, Prince's Gate, S.W.	1199	Walsall.
Edwards, Clement, 4, Pump Court, E.C.	573	Denbigh District.
Edwards, Sir F., Bart, 111, Ashley Gardens, S.W.	175	Radnorshire.
Elibank, Master of, 7, Park Place, St. James's	416	Peebles and Selkirk.
Ellis, Rt. Hon. J. E., 37, Prince's Gate, S.W.	3634	Notts., Rushcliffe.
Emmott, A. 30, Ennismore Gardens, S.W.	5408	Oldham.
Erskine, D. C., Scottish Office, S.W.	803	Perthshire, W.
Essex, R. W., North Drive, Streatham Park.	506	Gloucester, Cirencester.
Esslemont, G. B., King's Acre, Aberdeen	367	Aberdeen, S.
Evans, S. T., K.C., 3, Whitehall Court, S.W.	unop.	Glamorgan, Mid.
Eve, H. T., 4, New Square, W.C.	1289	Devon, Ashburton.
Everett, R. L., Rushmere, Ipswich	179	Suffolk, Woodbridge.

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Name and Address.	Majority.	Constituency.
Faber, G. H., 11, Clement's Lane, E.C.	107	Boston.
Ferens, T. R., 43, Whitehall Court, S.W.	2262	Hull, E.
Fiennes, Hon. E. T. W., 8, Cromwell Place, S.W.	1196	Oxon, Banbury.
Findlay, A., Motherwell, N.B.	1598	Lanark, N.E.
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir W. B., 30, Grosvenor Rd., S.W.	4297	Derbyshire, Ilkeston.
Fowler, Rt. Hon Sir H., 87, Queen's Gate, S.W.	2865	Wolverhampton, E.
Fownes-Luttrell, H., Bere Alston, Devon	1209	Devon, Tavistock.
Freeman-Thomas, F., 76, Ashley Gardens, S.W.	1093	Bodmin.
Fuller, J., 47, Rutland Gate, S.W.	1476	Wilts., Westbury.
Fullerton, H., National Liberal Club, S.W.	812	Cumberland, Egremont.
Furness, Sir C., 23, Upper Brook Street, W.	unop.	Hartlepool.
Gardner, Col. A., 41, Wilton Crescent, S.W.	312	Herefordshire, Ross.
Gibb, J., 51, Ladbrooke Grove, W.	416	Middlesex, Harrow.
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. H., 11, Downing St., S.W.	4705	Leeds, West.
Glendinning, R., Windsor Avenue, Belfast	788	Antrim, N.
Goddard, Sir D. F., National Liberal Club, S.W.	1805	Ipswich.
Gooch, G. P., South Villa, Campden Hill Rd., W.	946	Bath.
Grant, Corrie, 51, Temple, E.C.	274	Warwickshire, Rugby.
Greenwood, G. G., 33, Linden Gardens, W.	1159	Peterborough.
Greenwood, H., Whitehall Court, S.W.	305	York.
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E., Bart., Foreign Office, S.W.	2240	Northumberland, Berwick
Griffith, E. J., North King's Bench Walk, Temple	2718	Anglesey.
Grove, Archibald, Pollard's Park, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.	322	Northants, S.
Guest, Hon. Ivor, 57, Seymour Street, W.	3005	Cardiff.
Gulland, J. W., 8, Claremont Cres., Edinburgh	633	Dumfries Burghs.
Gurdon, Rt. Hon. Sir W. B., 1, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.	1527	Norfolk, N.
Haldane, Rt. Hon. R. B., War Office, S.W.	1180	Haddingtonshire.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis, 14, Berkeley Square, W.	2219	Lancs., Rossendale.
Hardy, G. A., Cheshunt Ho., Champion Hill, S.E.	213	Suffolk, Stowmarket.
Harmsworth, C. B., 28, Montague Square, W.	554	Droitwich.
Harmsworth, L., 3, Marlborough Gate, W.	2203	Caithness-shire.
Hart-Davies, T., 17, St. James's Square, S.W.	224	Hackney, N.
Harvey, A. G. C., Reform Club, S.W.	1463	Rochdale.
Harwood, G., 68, South Audley Street, W.	4260	Bolton.
Haslam, L., 8, Wilton Cres., S.W.	612	Monmouth District.
Haworth, A. A., 12, Kens'ton Pk. Gdns., W.	4232	Manchester, S.
Hazel, Dr. A. E. W., West Bromwich	1213	West Bromwich.
Heaton-Armstrong, W. C., 30, Portland Place, W.	136	Suffolk, Sudbury.
Hedges, A. P., National Liberal Club, S.W.	1283	Kent, Tonbridge.
Helme, N. W., 4, Whitehall Court, S.W.	884	Lancs., Lancaster.
Hemmerde, E. G., 1, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.	2791	Denbigh, E.
Henderson, J. Mcd., Cambis Gate, Wimbledon.	3158	Aberdeenshire, W.
Henry, C. S., 1, Porchester Gate, W.	1692	Shropshire, Wellington.
Herbert, T. A., 5, New Court, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.	1215	Bucks., Wycombe.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor, Bart., 1, West Halkin Street, S.W.	1287	Monmouthshire, S
Higham, J. S., 14, St. James's Court, S.W.	2448	Yorks., Sowerby.
Hobart, Sir R. H., 54, Chester Square, S.W.	48	Hants., New Forest.
Hobhouse, C. E., 47, Rutland Gate, S.W.	4806	Bristol, E.
Holden, E. H., 5, Threadneedle Street, E.C.	1106	Lancs., Heywood.
Holland, Sir W. H., Bart., 61, Queen's Gate, S.W.	unop.	Yorks., Rotherham.
Hooper, A. G., Selborne House, Dudley.	1157	Northumberland, Hexham.
Holt, R. D., Water Street, Liverpool	754	Dudley.
Hope, J. D., 16, Prince's Street, Edinburgh	4916	Fife, W.
Hope, W. B., Eastwood, East Harptree, Bristol	2246	Somerset, N.
Horniman, E. J., Chelsea Embarkment, S.W.	629	Chelsea.
Horridge, T. G., 41, Rutland Gate, S.W.	1980	Manchester, E.
Howard, Hon. G., 1, Kensington Palace Green, W.	237	Cumberland, Eskdale.
Hutton, A. E., 15, Arlington Street, S.W.	unop.	Yorks., Morley.
Hyde, C. G., 75, Gloucester Ter., Hyde Park, W.	944	Wednesbury.

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Name and Address.	Majority.	Constituency.
Idris, T. H., West Hill, Highgate.	376	Flint District.
Illingworth, P., 2, Tanfield Court, Temple, E.C.	unop.	Yorks., Shipley.
Isaacs, Rufus, K.C., 32, Park Lane, W.	697	Reading.
Jackson, R. S., Croom's Hill, Greenwich, S.E.	2341	Greenwich.
Jacoby, Sir J. A., 34, Eaton Place, S.W.	3590	Derbyshire, Mid.
Jardine, Sir J., 184, Palace Chambers, S.W.	315	Roxburghshire.
Jones, Sir D. B., K.C., 27, Bryanston Square, W.	unop.	Swansea District.
Jones, Leif, 1, Palace Green, Kensington, W.	3	Westmorland, Appleby.
Jones, W., 24, Gordon Street, W.C.	3412	Carnarvonshire, Arfon.
Kearley, H. E., 41, Grosvenor Place, S.W.	1684	Devonport.
Kekewich, Sir G. W., St. Albans, Feltham, Middlesex	85	Exeter.
King, A. J., 7A, Whitehall Court, S.W.	700	Cheshire, Knutsford.
Laidlaw, R., Chislehurst, Kent	95	Renfrew, E.
Lamb, E., Hotel Metropole, S.W.	28	Hereford, Leominster.
Lamb, E. H., 37, King William Street, E.C.	593	Rochester.
Lambert, G., 34, Grosvenor Road, S.W.	unop.	Devon, S. Molton.
Lamont, N., 4, Queen Street, W.	120	Buteshire.
Langley, Batty, Langhill, Sheffield	787	Sheffield, Attercliffe.
Layland-Barratt, F., 68, Cadogan Square, W.	460	Devon, Torquay.
Lea, H. C., 60, Cadogan Place, S.W.	1875	St. Pancras, E.
Leese, Sir J. F., Reform Club, S.W.	2857	Lancs., Accrington.
Lehmann, R. C., 59, Ashley Gardens, S.W.	1898	Leicestershire, Harboro'.
Lever, W. H., The Hill, North End, Hampstead.	1701	Cheshire, Wirral.
Levy, Sir M., St. James's Place, S.W.	1780	Leicestershire, Loughborough.
Levy-Lever, A., 20, Hans Crescent, S.W.	342	Essex, Harwich.
Lewis, J. H., 23, Grosvenor Road, S.W.	2722	Flintshire.
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. D., 7, Whitehall Gdns., S.W.	1224	Carnarvon District.
Lough, T., 14, Dean's Yard, Westminster	498	Islington, W.
Lupton, [illegible], 7, Victoria Street, S.W.	293	Lincs., Sleaford.
Lyell, C. H., 48, Eaton Place, S.W.	19	Dorset, E.
Lynch, H. F., 33, Pont Street, S.W.	313	Yorks., Ripon.
McArthur, W. A., 12, Buckingham Gate, S.W.	3151	Cornwall, St. Austel.
McCallum, J., Kingsley Hotel, Hart Street, W.C.	3070	Paisley.
McCrae, G., Torluish Grange, Edinburgh	4174	Edinburgh, E.
Macdonald, J. A. M., 15, Thurlow Road, N.W.	1982	Falkirk Burghs.
Mackarness, F., 21, Montpelier Square, S.W.	402	Berks., Newbury.
McKenna, Rt. Hon. R., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.	4575	Monmouthshire, N.
McLaren, Sir C. B., Bart., 43, Belgrave Square, S.W.	4051	Bosworth.
McLaren, H. D., 43, Belgrave Square, S.W.	878	Staffs., W.
Maclean, D., 46, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.	979	Bath.
McMicking, Maj. G., Reform Club, S.W.	297	Kirkcudbrightshire.
Macnamara, Dr. T. J., Rolls Court Avenue, Herne Hill, S.W.	2817	Camberwell, N.
Mallet, C. E., 32, Old Burlington Street, W.	2367	Plymouth.
Manfield, H., Bath Club, Dover Street, W.	1240	Northants, Mid.
Mansfield, H. R., Broom Leys, Coalville, near Leicester	1620	Lincs., Spalding.
Markham, A. B., 48, Portland Place, W.	unop.	Notts., Mansfield.
Marks, G. C., 18, Southampton Buildings, W.C.	1922	Cornwall, Launceston.
Marnham, F. J., Crouch Oak, Addlestone, near Chertsey	99	Surrey, Chertsey.
Mason, A. E. W., 17, Stratton Street, W.	1092	Coventry.
Massie, Dr. J., Reform Club, S.W.	1578	Wilts., Cricklade.
Masterman, C. F. G., 10, Addington Square, Camberwell, S.E.	1744	West Ham, N.
Menzies, W., 34, Gordon Square, W.C.	1275	Lanarkshire, S.
Micklem, N., K.C., 6, New Court, Lincoln's Inn.	1476	Herts., Watford.
Molteno, P. A., 3, Fenchurch Street, E.C.	1383	Dumfries-shire.
Mond, A., 35, Lowndes Square, S.W.	47	Chester.
Money, L. G. C., 3, Alexandra Court, Maida Vale, W.	1406	Paddington, N.
Montgomery, H. G., 43, Essex Street, W.C.	17	Bridgwater.

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NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Montagu, E. S., 12, Kensington Palace Gdns., W.	513	Cambs., Chesterton.
Morgan, G. H., 4, Harcourt Bldgs., Temple, E.C.	504	Cornwall, Truro.
Morgan, J. Lloyd, 4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.	unop.	Carmarthenshire.
Morley, Rt. Hon. John, Wimbledon Park, S.W.	2494	Montrose Burghs.
Morrell, P., 44, Bedford Square, W.C.	512	Oxon, Henley.
Morse, L. L., The Croft, Swindon	724	Wilts., Wilton.
Morton, A. C., 47, Gauden Road, Clapham, S.W.	450	Sutherlandshire.
Munro-Ferguson, R. C., 46, Cadogan Square, S.W.	2812	Leith Burghs.
Murray, Jas., House of Commons	unop.	Aberdeenshire, E.
Myer, H., 64, Maida Vale, N.W.	258	Lambeth, N.
Napier, T. B., 7, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.	1834	Kent, Faversham.
Newnes, F., Wild Croft, Putney, S.W.	531	Notts, Bassetlaw.
Newnes, Sir G., Bart., Wild Croft, Putney	1454	Swansea Town.
Nicholson, C. N., 35, Harrington Gardens, S.W.	3669	Yorks., Doncaster.
Norman, Sir H., 33, St. Thomas's Mansions, S.E.	686	Wolverhampton, S.
Norton, Capt., Bristol Lodge, Putney Heath	2021	Newington, W.
Nussey, T. W., 2, Dr. Johnson's Buildings, Temple, E.C	807	Pontefract.
Nuttall, H., Bowden, Cheshire	2824	Lancs., Stretford.
O'Donnell, C. J., 75, Queen's Gate, S.W.	769	Walworth.
Partington, O., 18, Cadogan Square, S.W.	796	Derbyshire, High Peak.
Paul, H. W., 13, Tite Street, Chelsea	411	Northampton.
Paulton, J. M., 2, Delahay Street, S.W.	4374	Durham, Bishop Auckland.
Pearce, R., East Heath Road, Hampstead	1474	Staffs., Leek.
Pearce, W., 14, Park Cres., Portland Place, W.	974	Limehouse.
Pearson, Sir W. D., Bart., 16, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.	310	Colchester.
Pearson, Harold, 16, Carlton House Terrace, W.	197	Suffolk, Eye.
Pease, J. A., 8, Hertford Street, W.	1268	Essex, Saffron Walden.
Perks, R. W., 11, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.	979	Lincs., Louth.
Philipps, Owen, 86, Knightsbridge, S.W.	1049	Pembroke District.
Philipps, J. W., 23, Albemarle Street, W.	3280	Pembrokeshire.
Philipps, Col. I., Chantry House, Eccleston Street, S.W.	1278	Southampton.
Pickersgill, E. H., 2, Essex Court, Temple, E.C.	1478	Bethnal Green, S.W.
Pirie, D. V., 18, Eccleston St., S.W.	2914	Aberdeen, N.
Pollard, Dr. G. H., 2, Brick Court, Temple, E.C.	595	Lancs., Eccles.
Price, C. E., 10, Atholl Crescent, Edinburgh	2078	Edinburgh, Central.
Price, R. J., 6, Sussex Mansions, S.W.	2196	Norfolk, E.
Priestley, A., Kingston Hall, Grantham	109	Grantham.
Priestley, W. E. B., Queen Anne's Mans., S.W.	1908	Bradford, E.
Pullar, Sir R., 22, Gordon Square, W.C.	unop.	Perth.
Radford, G. H., 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.	767	Islington, E.
Rainy, A. R., 29, Lower Seymour Street, W.	2525	Kilmarnock Burghs.
Raphael, H. H., 5, Cavendish Square, W.	1493	Derbyshire, S.
Rea, Russell, 22, Lyndhurst Road, N.W.	302	Gloucester City.
Rea, Walter, 17, Lyndhurst Gardens, N.W.	509	Scarborough.
Rees, J. D., Hillmedes, Harrow	83	Montgomery District.
Rendall, A., Yeovil, Somerset	2130	Gloucester, Thornbury.
Renton, Major Leslie, 27, Chester Sq., S.W.	851	Lincs., Gainsborough.
Richardson, A., Friar Yard, Nottingham	800	Nottingham, S.
Rickett, Sir J. C., 100, Lancaster Gate, W.	4124	Yorks., Osgoldcross.
Ridsdale, E. A., 7, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.	731	Brighton.
Roberts, C. H., 1, Palace Green, Kensington, W.	1392	Lincoln.
Roberts, J. H., 34, Prince's Gardens, S.W.	unop.	Denbighshire, West.
Robertson, Rt. Hon. E., Admiralty, Whitehall, S.W.	2443	Dundee.
Robertson, Sir G. S., 2, Mitre Court Bldgs., E.C.	1340	Bradford, Central.
Robertson, J. M., Viewhurst, Westerham	4611	Northumberland, Tyneside
Robinson, S., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.	2277	Brecknockshire.
Robson, Sir W. S., K.C., 26, Eaton Square, S.W.	6286	South Shields.
Roe, Sir T., Litchurch, Derby	3818	Derby.
Rogers, F. N., House of Commons, S.W.	614	Wilts., Devizes.

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Name and Address.	Majority.	Constituency.
Rose, C. D., 53, Berkeley Square, W.	783	Cambs., Newmarket.
Rowlands, J., National Liberal Club, S.W.	2804	Kent, Dartford.
Runciman, W., 15, Great College Street, S.W.	3805	Dewsbury.
Russell, T. W., Hotel Windsor, S.W.	283	Tyrone, S.
Rutherford, Dr. V. H., 25, Linfield Gdns., N.W.	453	Brentford.
Samuel, Herbert, 88, Gloucester Terrace, W.	unop.	Yorks., Cleveland.
Samuel, Stuart, 12, Hill Street, W.	356	Whitechapel.
Scarisbrick, T., 3, Mount Street, W.	624	Dorset, S.
Schwann, C. D., 4, Prince's Gardens, S.W.	1063	Cheshire, Hyde.
Schwann, Sir C. E., Bart., 4, Prince's Gdns., S.W.	2454	Manchester, N.
Scott, A. H., Park House, Swinton Grove, Manchester	968	Ashton-under-Lyne.
Sears, J. E., Rydal Mount, Holder's Hill, Hendon.	401	Cheltenham.
Seaverns, J. H., 25, Grosvenor Road, S.W.	286	Brixton.
Seely, Major J. E., 29, Chester Square, S.W.	199	Liverpool, Abercromby.
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T., Dover House, Whitehall, S.W.	681	Hawick Burghs.
Shaw, C. E., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.	311	Stafford.
Sherwell, A., Thackeray Hotel, W.C.	340	Huddersfield.
Shipman, Dr. G., 5, Crown Office Row, Temple, E.C.	175	Northampton.
Silcock, T. B., Walden, Bath	355	Somerset, Wells.
Simon, J. A., 46, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.	3937	Essex, Walthamstow.
Sinclair, Capt. Rt. Hon. J., Scottish Office, S.W.	3519	Forfarshire.
Smeaton, D. M., 4, Eaton Square, S.W.	3669	Stirlingshire.
Smith, Captain Kincaid, 5, Bury Street, S.W.	148	Stratford-on-Avon.
Soames, A. W., 18, Park Crescent, W.	1158	Norfolk, S.
Soares, E. J., 171, Queen's Gate, S.W.	2045	Devon, Barnstaple.
Spicer, Sir A., Bart., 10, Lancaster Gate, W.	616	Hackney, Central.
Stanger, H. Y., K.C., New Court, Temple, E.C.	1058	Kensington, N.
Stanley, Hon. A. L., 26, St. Leonard's Tce., S.W.	1123	Cheshire, Eddisbury.
Stewart, H., The Red House, Harpenden, Herts.	1342	Greenock.
Stewart-Smith, D., K.C., 3, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.	252	Kendal.
Strachey, Sir E., Bart., 27, Cadogan Gdns., S.W.	1917	Somerset, S.
Straus, B. S., 8, Hyde Park Mansions, W.	126	Mile End.
Strauss, E. A., 49, Grosvenor Square, W.	176	Berks., Abingdon.
Stuart, J., 24, Grosvenor Road, S.W.	5741	Sunderland.
Sutherland, J. E., Portsoy, Elginshire	1956	Elgin Burghs.
Taylor, Austin, 179, Ashley Gardens, S.W.	unop.	Liverpool, Toxteth, E.
Taylor, T. C., Sunnybank, Batley, Yorks.	1602	Lancs., Radcliffe.
Tennant, Sir E. P., Bart., 34, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.	41	Salisbury.
Tennant, H. J., 33, Bruton Street, W.	1351	Berwickshire.
Thomas, Abel, K.C., 7, King's Bench Walk, E.C.	unop.	Carmarthenshire, E.
Thomas, Sir A., Bronwydd, Cardiff	unop.	Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, D. A., 122, Ashley Gardens, S.W.	3784	Merthyr Tydvil.
Thomasson, Franklin, 36, Gloucester Square, W.	3560	Leicester.
Thompson, J. W. H., 115, St. James's Ct., S.W.	663	Somerset, E.
Tillett, L., Old Catton, Norfolk	3512	Norwich.
Tomkinson, J., 17, Bolton Street, W.	2508	Cheshire, Crewe.
Torrance, Sir A. M., 16, Highbury Quadrant, N.	431	Glasgow, Central.
Toulmin, G., 166, Ashley Gardens, S.W.	1127	Bury.
Trevelyan, C. P., 14, Great College Street, S.W.	3647	Yorks., Elland.
Ure, A., Alexandra Hotel, Hyde Park, W.	2521	Linlithgowshire.
Verney, F. W., 12, Connaught Place, W.	1580	Bucks., Buckingham.
Villiers, E. A., 22, Adelaide Crescent, Brighton.	874	Brighton.
Walker, H. de R., 95, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, W.	1767	Leicestershire, Melton.
Walters, J. T., 3, Whitehall Court, S.W.	1001	Sheffield, Brightside.
Walton, Sir J. Lawson, 42, Great Cumberland Place, W.	4494	Leeds, S.
Walton, J., 7, Sloane Street, S.W.	unop.	Yorks., Barnsley.
Ward, W. D., 14a, Berkeley Street, W.	501	Southampton.
Waring, Capt. W., 9, Grosvenor Place, S.W.	2009	Banffshire.
Warner, T. C., 56, Cadogan Square, S.W.	2430	Staffs., Lichfield.

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NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Wason, Rt. Hon., E., 8, Sussex Gardens, W.....	1379	Clackmannan.
Wason, Cathcart, 40, Grosvenor Road, S.W.....	2816	Orkney and Shetlands.
Waterlow, D. S., 38, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. ..	866	Islington, N.
Watt, H. A., Hunter's Quay, Forth of Clyde ..	1683	Glasgow, College.
Wedgwood, J. 4, Whitehall Court, S.W.	2207	Newcastle-under-Lyme.
Weir, J. G., 4, Frognal, Hampstead, N.W.	2112	Ross and Cromarty.
Whitbread, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W.	469	Hunts., Huntingdon.
White, Sir Geo., The Grange, Eaton, Norwich..	2800	Norfolk, N.W.
White, J. D., 50, Clanricarde Gardens, W.	467	Dumbartonshire.
White, L., Inns of Court Hotel, Holborn, W.	1602	Yorks., Buckrose.
Whitehead, R., 14, Old Square, W.C.	2060	Essex, S.E.
Whiteley, Rt. Hon. G., 12, Downing Street, S.W.	3502	Yorks., Pudsey.
Whitley, J. H., 26, St. James's Court, S. W.	43·3	Halifax.
Whittaker, Sir T. P., 13, Taviton St., Gordon Sq., W.	2864	Yorks., Spen Valley.
Wiles, T., 5, Aubrey Road, W.	1615	Islington, S.
Williams, O., 79A, Pall Mall, S. W.	unop.	Merionethshire.
Williams, W. L., Lamb's Bldgs., Temple, E.C...	2094	Carmarthen District.
Williamson, A., 6, Crosby Square, E.C.	1460	Elgin and Nairn.
Wills, A. W., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.	645	Dorset, N.
Wilson, H. J., Osgathorpe Hill, Sheffield	4173	Yorks., Holmfirth.
Wilson, J. W., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.	479	Worcester, N.
Wilson, P., Whitwell, 16, Percy Circus, W.C. ..	61	St. Pancras, S.
Winfrey, R., Sutton Ho., Thorpe Rd., Peterboro'	903	Norfolk, S.W.
Wodehouse, Lord, 63, Jermyn Street, S.W.	27	Norfolk, Mid.
Wood. T. McKinnon, 16, Portland Place, W.	3405	Glasgow, St. Rollox.
Yoxall, J. H., Springfield, Kew	2845	Nottingham, W.

UNIONISTS (157).

NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Acland-Hood, Rt. Hon. Sir A., Bart 29, Ennismore Gardens, S.W.	272	Somerset, W.
Akers-Douglas, Rt. Hon. A., 113, Mount St., W.	2861	Kent, St. Augustine's.
Anson, Sir W. R., Bart., 192, Ashley Gdns, S.W.	unop.	Oxford University.
Anstruther-Gray, Major, 9, Eaton Square, S.W.	23	St. Andrews.
Arkwright, J. S., 7, King's Bench Walk, E.C.	242	Hereford.
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. H. O., 2, Abbey Gardens, Westminster	1007	Croydon.
Ashley, W. W., 32, Bruton Street, W.	3061	Lancs., Blackpool.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H., 1, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W.	1714	Lewes.
Balcarres, Lord, 74, Brook Street, W.	1387	Lancs., Chorley.
Baldwin, A., Kensington Palace Mansions, W. ..	3194	Worcestershire, Bewdley.
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J., 4, Carlton Gdns., S.W.	11340	City of London.
Banbury, Sir F. G., Bt., 41, Lowndes Street, S.W.	unop.	City of London.
Baring, Capt. Hon. G. V., 16, Cadogan Sq., S.W.	50	Winchester.
Barrie, H. T., Constitutional Club, W.C.	2107	Londonderry, N.
Beckett, Hon. G., 1, Hyde Park Place, W.	71	Yorks., Whitby.
Bignold, Sir A., 2, Curzon Street, W.	96	Wick Burghs.
Bowles, G. S., 36, Connaught Square, W.	819	Norwood.
Boyle, Sir E., Bart., 1, King's Bench Walk, E.C.	339	Taunton.
Bridgeman, W. C., 13, Mansfield Street, W.	503	Oswestry.
Brotherton, E. A., 16, St. James's Place, S.W...	217	Wakefield.
Bull, Sir W. J., 269, King Street, Hammersmith	549	Hammersmith.
Burdett-Coutts, W. A. B., 1, Stratton St., W.	1113	Westminster.
Butcher, S. H., 6, Tavistock Square, W.C.	1397	Cambridge University.

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Name and Address.	Majority.	Constituency.
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. H. M., 30, Upper Pembroke Street, Dublin	unop.	Dublin University.
Carlile, Col. E. H., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.	552	Herts., St. Albans.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir E., Carlton Club, S.W.	unop.	Dublin University.
Castlereagh, Viscount, Londonderry House, W.	132	Maidstone.
Cave, G., K.C., 4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.	1019	Surrey, Kingston.
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor, 37, Park Lane, W.	559	Derbyshire, W.
Cecil, E., 10, Eaton Place, S.W.	4703	Aston Manor.
Cecil, Lord R., K.C., 25, Grove End Road, N.W.	660	Marylebone, E.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J., 40, Prince's Gardens	5079	Birmingham, W.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Austen, 9, Egerton Place, S.W.	4366	Worcester, E.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. H., Stafford House, St. James's	6964	Surrey, Wimbledon.
Clarke, Geo. S., 34, Brook Street, W.	1927	Belfast, N.
Coates, Major E. F., Tayle's Hill, Ewell	1683	Lewisham.
Cochrane, Hon. T. H., 48, Grosvenor Gdns, S.W.	1016	Ayrshire, N.
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse, Constitutional Club, S.W.	3787	Birmingham, Bordesley.
Corbett, A. C., 26, Hans Place, S.W.	353	Glasgow.
Corbett, T. L., 57, Warwick Square, S.W.	2275	Down, N.
Courthorpe, 1, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.	1158	Sussex, Rye.
Craig, C. C., 55, Gt. Cumberland Place, W.	unop.	Antrim, S.
Craig, Capt. J., 50, Pont Street, W.	670	Down, E.
Craik, Sir Henry, 5a, Dean's Yard, S.W.	1093	Glasgow and Aberdeen Univ
Cross, A., 44, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.	248	Glasgow, Camlachie.
Dalrymple, Visct., 70, Eaton Square, S.W.	739	Wigtonshire.
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F., Bart., 14, Chesham Place, S.W.	145	Uxbridge.
Doughty, Sir G., 231, St. James's Court, S.W.	2309	Grimsby.
Du Cros, H., 14, Regent Street, S.W.	413	Hastings.
Duncan, R., 19, Leinster Gardens, W.	128	Lanark, Govan.
Faber, Major W. V., Naval & Mil. Club, S.W.	79	Hants., Andover.
Faber, G. D., 14, Grosvenor Square, W.	14	York.
Fardell, Sir T. G., 26, Hyde Park Street, W.	1417	Paddington, S.
Fell, A., Lauriston House, Wimbledon Common	236	Yarmouth.
Fetherstonhaugh, G., K.C., 5, Herbert Street, Dublin	88	Fermanagh, N.
Fletcher, J. S., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.	473	Hampstead.
Forster, H. W., 3, Tilney Street, W.	364	Kent, Sevenoaks.
Gardner, E., Spencers, Maidenhead	1325	Berks., Wokingham.
Gibbs, G. A., 35, Wilton Place, S.W.	365	Bristol, W.
Gordon, J., 25, Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin	71	Londonderry, S.
Gretton, John, 66, Ennismore Gardens, S.W.	851	Rutland.
Guiness, Hon. Walter, 11, Grosvenor Pl., S.W.	890	Bury St. Edmunds.
Haddock, G. B., 113a, Piccadilly, W.	179	Lancs., Lonsdale.
Hamilton, Marquis of, 21, Knightsbridge, S.W.	unop.	Londonderry.
Hardy, L., 42, Lowndes Square, S.W.	381	Kent, Ashford.
Harmood-Banner, J., 24, Old Queen St., S.W.	1065	Everton, Liverpool.
Harris, F. L., 70, Grosvenor Street, W.	949	Tower Hamlets, Stepney.
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B., Carlton Club, S.W.	613	Yorks., Howdenshire.
Hay, Hon. C., 5, Connaught Sq., Hyde Park, W.	736	Hoxton.
Heaton, J. Henniker, Carlton Club, S.W.	948	Canterbury.
Helmsley, Lord, 45, Cadogan Place, S.W.	804	Thirsk and Malton.
Hicks-Beach, Hon. M., 81, Eaton Place, S.W.	127	Tewkesbury.
Hill, Sir C. L., 13, Chesterfield Street, W.	440	Shrewsbury.
Hill, Rt. Hon. Lord Arthur, Bracknell, Berks.	784	Down, W.
Hill, H. Staveley, Queen Anne's Mns., S.W.	841	Staffs., Kingswinford.
Hills, J. W., 14, Victoria Grove, Kensington, W.	433	Durham City.
Hornby, Sir W. H., Bart., 4, Berkeley House, Hayhill, W.	9	Blackburn.
Houston, R. P., 43, Park Lane, W.	781	Liverpool, W. Toxteth.
Hunt, R., 21, Carlisle Mansions, S.W.	760	Shropshire, Ludlow.
Joicey-Cecil, Lord John, 5a, Mount Street, W.	541	Stamford.
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J., Bart., 1, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.	1143	Devon, Honiton.

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NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hon. Col., Carlton Club, S.W.	166	Shropshire, Newport.
Keswick, W., 3, Lombard Street, E.C.	1095	Surrey, Epsom.
Kimber, Sir H., Bart., Lansdowne Lodge, Putney, E.	545	Wandsworth.
King, Sir H. S., 25, Cornwall G'd'ns., Kensington..	1178	Hull, Central.
Lambton, Hon. F. W., 72, Upper Berkeley St., W.	unop.	Durham, S.E.
Lane-Fox, G., 88, Eaton Square, S.W.	648	Yorks., Barkston Ash.
Law, A. Bonar, Bath Club, Dover Street, W. ..	1279	Dulwich.
Lee, A. H., 10, Chesterfield Street, W.	1352	Hants., Fareham.
Lockwood, Rt. Hon. Col., 5, Audley Square, W.	1174	Essex, Epping.
Long, Col., 30, Eaton Square, S.W.	92	Worcester, Evesham.
Long, Rt. Hon. W. H., 51, Cadogan Gdns., S.W.	1343	Dublin County, S.
Lonsdale, J. B., 13, Prince's Gardens, S.W.	unop.	Armagh, Mid.
Lowe. Sir F. W., 2, Queen's Gate, S.W.	4159	Birmingham, Edgbaston.
Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. W., Speaker's House, S.W.	unop.	Cumberland, Penrith.
Lyttleton, Hon. A., 16, Great College Street, W.	unop.	St. George's, Hanover Square.
McCalmont, Col., 29, Bury St., St. James's, S.W.	2351	Antrim, E.
McArthur, C., House of Commons, S.W.	670	Liverpool, Kirkdale.
McIver, Sir L., 25, Upper Brook Street, W.	306	Edinburgh, W.
Magnus, Sir P., 16, Gloucester Terrace, W.	24	London University.
Marks, H. H., 6, Cavendish Square, W.	1193	Kent, Isle of Thanet.
Mason, J. F., 1, Chesterfield Gardens, W.	128	Windsor.
Meysey-Thompson, Major E. C., Spellow Hill, Staveley, Yorks.	4771	Staffs., Handsworth.
Middlemore, J. T., Queen Anne's Mns., S.W. ..	3897	Birmingham, N.
Mildmay, F. B., 46, Berkeley Square, W.	2228	Devon, Totnes.
Mitchell-Thompson, W., 6, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh	675	Lanark, N.W.
Moore, W., K.C., 73, Lower Leeson St., Dublin..	2866	Armagh, N.
Morpeth, Visct., 26, Buckingham Gt., S.W.	2900	Birmingham, S.
Muntz, Sir P. A., Bart., Dunsmore, nr. Rugby..	2719	Warwickshire, Tamworth.
Nicholson, W. G., 80, Eaton Square, S.W.	96	Hants., Petersfield.
Nield, H., 2, Dr. Johnson's Buildings, E.C.	1279	Middlesex, Ealing.
O'Niell, Hon. R. T., 3, Regent Street, S.W.	790	Antrim, Mid.
Parker, Sir G., 20, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.	1689	Gravesend.
Parkes, E., Hermitage Road, Birmingham	3609	Birmingham, Central.
Pease, H. P., Merrow Croft, Guildford	488	Darlington.
Percy, Lord, 64, Curzon Street, W.	3211	Kensington, S.
Powell, Sir F. S., Bart., 1, Cambridge Sq., W...	368	Wigan.
Randles, Sir J. S., Fircroft, Surbiton	690	Cumberland, Cockermouth.
Rasch, Sir F. C., Bt., Woodhill, Danbury, Essex	454	Essex, Chelmsford.
Ratcliff, Major R. F., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W...	1041	Staffs., Burton.
Rawlinson, J. F. P., 5, Crown Office Row, E.C...	1323	Cambridge University.
Remnant, J. F., Carlton Club, S.W.	1175	Holborn.
Roberts, S., 4, Whitehall Court, S.W.	464	Sheffield, Ecclesall.
Ronaldshay, Earl of, 19, Arlington St., S.W. ..	unop.	Middlesex, Hornsey.
Ropner, Sir R., Bart., Preston Hall, Stockton-on-Tees	1655	Stockton.
Rothschild, Hon. L. W., 148, Piccadilly, W.	1212	Bucks., Aylesbury.
Rutherford, J., 101, Mount Street, W.	25	Lancs., Darwen.
Rutherford, W., 24, Queen Victoria St., E.C. ..	1847	Liverpool, West Derby.
Salter, A. C., 2, Mitre Court Buildings, E.C.	259	Basingstoke.
Sandys, Col. T. M., 87, Jermyn Street, S.W.	340	Lancs., Bootle.
Sassoon, Sir E. A., Bart., 25, Park Lane, W. ..	899	Hythe.
Scott, Sir S., Bart., 38, South Street, W.	655	Marylebone, W.
Sheffield, Sir B. D., Bart., 36, Curzon St., W. ..	126	Lincoln, Brigg.
Sloan, T. H., House of Commons	816	Belfast, S.
Smith, Hon. W. F. D., 3, Grosvenor Place, S.W.	2081	Strand.
Smith, F. E., 4, Elm Court, E.C.	709	Liverpool, Walton.
Smith, A. H., 54, Cadogan Square, W.	80	Herts., Hertford.
Stanley, Hon. A., 33, St. James's Sq., S.W.	2316	Lancs., Ormskirk.
Starkey, L. R., 75, Chester Square, S.W.	328	Notts, Newark.
Stone, Sir J. B., The Grange, Erdington, B'ham.	585	Birmingham, E.
Stuart-Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B., 7, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea	81	Sheffield, Hallam.

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Name and Address.	Majority	Constituency.
Talbot, Lord E., 1, Buckingham Pal. Gdns., S.W.	1174	Sussex, Chichester.
Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G., 10, Gt. George St., S.W.	unop.	Oxford University.
Thornton, P. M., 35, Cranley Gardens, S.W.	102	Clapham.
Tuke, Sir J. Batty, 63, St. James's Street, S.W.	2583	Edinburgh & St. Andrew's Univ.
Valentia, Visct., 49, Cadogan Square, S.W.	100	Oxford.
Vincent, Sir C. H., Bart., 1, Grosvenor Sq., W.	927	Sheffield, Central.
Walker, Col. W. H., 9, Up. Berkeley St., W.	852	Lancs., Widnes.
Walrond, Hon. L., 39, Park Lane, W.	485	Devon, Tiverton.
Warde, Col. C. E., 21, Lennox Gardens, S.W.	106	Kent, Medway.
Williams, Col. R., 36, Chester Square, S.W.	837	Dorset, W.
Wilson, A. S., 2, Lower Berkeley Street, W.	30	Yorks., Holderness.
Winterton, Earl, 49a, Pall Mall, W.	617	Sussex, Horsham.
Wolff, G. W., 90, Piccadilly, W.	unop.	Belfast, E.
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G., 35, Park Lane, W.	1564	Dover.
Younger, G., 1, Wilton Crescent, S.W.	261	Ayr Burghs.

IRISH NATIONALISTS (83).

Name and Address.	Majority	Constituency.
Abraham, W., 26, Ashmount Road, Hornsey	unop.	Cork, N.E.
Ambrose, Dr. R., The Mount, Shoot-up-hill, Brondesbury, N.W.	unop.	Mayo, West.
Barry, E., New Mill, Rosscarbery, Cork	unop.	Cork, S.
Boland, J., 198, Ashley Gardens, S.W.	unop.	Kerry, S.
Burke, E. H., 70, Waterloo Road, Dublin	unop.	King's County, Tullamore.
Clancy, J. J., Breffin T'ce., Sandycove Rd., Dublin.	unop.	Dublin, N.
Condon, T. J., New Quay, Clononel, Tipperary	unop.	Tipperary, E.
Crean, E., 3, Douglas Street, Cork	unop.	Cork, S.E.
Cullinan, J., Bansha, co. Tipperary	unop.	Tipperary, S.
Delaney, W., Tullamore, Ireland	unop.	Queen's County, Ossory.
Devlin, J., Albert Chrs., Victoria St., S.W.	16	Belfast, W.
Dillon, J., 2, North Great George Street, Dublin	unop.	Mayo, E.
Dolan, C. J., House of Commons	unop.	Leitrim, N.
Donelan, Capt., Ballymona, Middleton, co. Cork	unop.	Cork, E.
Duffy, W. J., Loughrea, Ireland	unop.	Galway, S.
Esmonde, Sir T., Ballynastragh, Gorey, Wexf'd	unop.	Wexford, N.
Farrell, J. P., Market Square, Longford	unop.	Longford, N.
Ffrench, P., Harpoonstown, Wexford	unop.	Wexford, S.
Field, W., Main Street, Blackrock, Dublin	unop.	Dublin, St. Patrick's
Flavin, M. J., The Rock, Tralee	unop.	Kerry, N.
Flynn, J. C., York Terrace, Cork	unop.	Cork, N.
Gilhooly, J., Bantry, co. Cork	unop.	Cork, W.
Ginnell, L., 152, Lancaster Road, W.	unop.	Westmeath, N.
Gwynn, S., Temple Chambers, E.C.	424	Galway City.
Halpin, J., Newmarket-on-Fergus, Ireland	unop.	Clare, W.
Hammond, J., Carlow, Ireland	unop.	Carlow.
Harrington, T., 70, Harcourt Street, Dublin	2750	Dublin, Harbour.
Hayden, J. P., *Westmeath Examiner*, Mullingar.	unop.	Roscommon, S.
Hazleton, R., Blackrock, Dublin	unop.	Galway, N.
Healy, T. M., 1, Mountjoy Square, Dublin	unop.	Louth, N.
Hogan, M., Tipperary	unop.	Tipperary, N.
Jordan, J., Enniskillen, Ireland	unop.	Fermanagh, S.
Joyce, M., 5, Arthur's Quay, Limerick	unop.	Limerick City.
Kennedy, V. P., 7, Farnham Street, Cavan	unop.	Cavan, W.
Kettle, T. M., Clonmore, Glasnevin	19	Tyrone, E.
Kilbride, D., Stradbally, Queen's Co.	unop.	Kildare, S.
Lardner, J. C. R., House of Commons	unop.	Monaghan, N.
Law, H. A., Marble Hill, Ballymore, Letterkenny	unop.	Donegal, W.

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NAME AND ADDRESS.	Majority.	CONSTITUENCY.
Lundon, W., Kilteely, co. Limerick	unop.	Limerick, E.
McHugh, P. A., "*Sligo Champion*," Sligo	unop.	Sligo, N.
McKean, J., 21, Kempsford Gardens, S.W.	unop.	Monaghan, S.
McKillop, W., 50, Victoria Street, S.W.	unop.	Armagh, S.
McNeill, J. G. Swift, 13, Glebe Place, S.W.	unop.	Donegal, S.
McVeagh, J., 2, Up. Montagu Street, W.C.	648	Down, S.
McVeigh, C., Letterkenny, co. Donegal	unop.	Donegal, E.
Meagher, M., 17, Holland Grove, Brixton, S.W.	unop.	Kilkenny, N.
Meehan, P. A., Maryborough, Queen's County	unop.	Queen's County, Leix.
Mooney, J. J., 50, Victoria Street, S.W.	67	Newry.
Muldoon, J., House of Commons	unop.	Wicklow, E.
Murnaghan, G., Lisanelly House, Omagh	unop.	Tyrone, Mid.
Murphy, J., Killarney	54	Kerry, E.
Murphy, N. J., House of Commons	unop.	Kilkenny, S.
Nannetti, J. P., Juverna Terrace, Glasnevin	unop.	Dublin, College Green.
Nolan, J., House of Commons	unop.	Louth, S.
Nugent, Sir W., Bart., Multifarnham, co. Westmeath	unop.	Westmeath, S.
O'Brien, K. E., Golden Hill, Cashel, Tipperary	unop.	Tipperary, Mid.
O'Brien, P., House of Commons	unop.	Kilkenny.
O'Brien, W., Westport, co. Mayo	unop.	Cork City.
O'Connor, James, House of Commons	unop.	Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John, 4, Paper Buildings, E.C.	unop.	Kildare, N.
O'Connor, T. P., 5, Tavistock St., Cov. Gdns., W.C.	1691	Liverpool, Scotland.
O'Doherty, P., Londonderry	unop.	Donegal, N.
O'Donnell, J., Galway	unop.	Mayo, S.
O'Donnell, T., Killorglin, co. Kerry	unop.	Kerry, W.
O'Dowd, J., Bunninadden, Sligo	unop.	Sligo, S.
O'Kelly, C., Claremorris, co. Mayo	unop.	Mayo, N.
O'Kelly, J. J., House of Commons	unop	Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, W., 27, Marine Square, Brighton	unop.	Galway, Connemara.
O'Shaughnessy, P. J., Rathkeale, co. Limerick	unop.	Limerick. W.
O'Shee, J. J., Newtown, Carrick-on-Suir	unop.	Waterford, W.
Phillips, J., House of Commons, S.W.	unop.	Longford, S.
Power, P. J., 13, Templeton Place, S.W.	unop.	Waterford, E.
Reddy, M., House of Commons	unop.	King's County, Birr.
Redmond, J. E., 18, Wynnstay Gardens, W.	unop.	Waterford City.
Redmond, W., Delgany, Co. Wicklow	unop.	Clare, E.
Roche, Augustine, King Street, Cork	unop.	Cork City.
Roche, J., Woodford, Co. Galway	unop.	Galway, E.
Sheehan, D. D., Cork City	unop.	Cork, Mid.
Sheehy, D., 2, Belvedere Place, Dublin	unop.	Meath, S.
Smyth, T., Tooman, Dromod, co. Leitrim	unop.	Leitrim, S.
Waldron, L. A., 10, Anglesea Street, Dublin	1474	Dublin, St. Stephen's
White, P., Clonalvy, Balbriggan	unop.	Meath, N.
Young, S., Avonmore, Derryvolgie, Belfast	unop.	Cavan, E.

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NEAT, ACCURATE, PROMPT. MODERATE CHARGES.

MISS ANSELL,

70-72, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W.C.

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THE GOVERNMENT.

Prime Minister	Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.
First Lord of the Treasury (£5,000)	
Lord High Chancellor of Gt. Britain (£10,000)	Lord Loreburn.
Lord President of the Privy Council (£2,000)..	Earl of Crewe.
Lord Privy Seal (unpaid)..	Marquis of Ripon.
Chancellor of the Exchequer (£5,000)	H. H. Asquith.
Secretary of State for the Home Dept. (£5,000)	H. J. Gladstone.
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (£5,000)	Sir Edward Grey, Bart.
Secretary of State for the Colonies (£5,000) ..	Earl of Elgin.
Secretary of State for War (£5,000)	R. B. Haldane, K.C.
Secretary of State for India (£5,000)	John Morley.
First Lord of the Admiralty (£4,550)	Lord Tweedmouth.
Chief Secretary to the Ld. Lt. of Ireland (£4,425)	Augustine Birrell, K.C.
Secretary for Scotland (unpaid)	Capt. John Sinclair.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (£2,000)	Sir Henry Fowler.
President of the Board of Trade (£2,000) ..	D. Lloyd George.
President of the Local Govt. Bd. (£2,000).. ..	John Burns.
President of the Bd. of Agriculture (£2,000) ..	Earl Carrington.
President of the Board of Education (£2,000)..	R. McKenna.
Postmaster-General (£2,500)	Sydney Buxton.
First Commissioner of Works (£2,000)	Lewis Harcourt.

Ministers not in the Cabinet.

Lord Chancellor of Ireland (£8,000)	Lord Justice Walker.
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (£20,000)	Earl of Aberdeen.
Parl. Secretary to the Treasury (£2,000)	G. Whiteley.
Financial Secretary to the Treasury (£2,000)..	W. Runciman.
Junior Lords of the Treasury	£1,000..J. A. Pease. „ ..Herbert Lewis. „ ..Capt. Cecil Norton. Unpaid..J. H. Whitley.
Paymaster-General (unpaid)	R. K. Causton.
Civil Lord of the Admiralty (£1,000)	G. Lambert.
Under-Secretary for War (£1,500)	Earl of Portsmouth.
Financial Secretary to the War Office (£1,500)	T. R. Buchanan.
Parl. Secretary to the Admiralty (£2,000).. ..	E. Robertson, K.C.
Secretary to the Board of Trade (£1,200) ..	H. E. Kearley.
Secretary to the Local Govt. Board (£1,200) ..	T. J. Macnamara.
Under-Secretary for the Home Dept. (£1,500)..	Herbert Samuel.
Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (£1,500)..	Lord Fitzmaurice of Leigh.
Under-Secretary for the Colonies (£1,500) ..	Winston S. Churchill.
Under-Secretary for India (£1,500)	C. E. Hobhouse.
Secretary to the Board of Education (£1,200)	T. Lough.
Attorney-General (£7,000 and fees, say, £6,000)	Sir J. Lawson-Walton, K.C.
Solicitor-General (£6,000 and fees, say, £6,000)	Sir W. S. Robson, K.C.
Lord Advocate of Scotland (£5,000)	Thomas Shaw, K.C.
Solicitor-General for Scotland (£2,000)	A. Ure, K.C.
Attorney-General for Ireland (£5,000 and fees)	R. R. Cherry, K.C.
Solicitor-General for Ireland (£2,000 and fees)	Redmond Barry.
Lord Steward (£2,000)	Earl Beauchamp.
Treasurer of the Household (£700)	Sir Edward Strachey.
Comptroller of the Household (£700)	Master of Elibank.
Lord Chamberlain (£2,000)	Lord Althorp.
Vice-Chamberlain (£924)	J. M. F. Fuller.
Vice-President, Irish Board of Agriculture .	T. W. Russell.

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THE BY-ELECTIONS IN 1906-7.

The Labour Party.

THE Labour Party took an active part in a number of elections, and in others its intervention has only been averted by the gift of Liberal seats to the officials of Miners' Unions. In two cases where the Labour Party did not officially take a part, the local Labour bodies united enthusiastically in support of Independent Socialist candidates.

Women's Suffrage.

At nearly all the elections the question of Women's Suffrage played a conspicuous part. The Women's Social and Political Union held from one to two hundred enthusiastic meetings in each of the elections at Hexham, Stepney, Rutland, Jarrow, Colne Valley, N.W. Stafford, and Bury St. Edmund's, the weight of the Union being thrown not in favour of any candidate but in opposition to the Liberal nominee. The Union claims the credit of the reduction which took place in the Liberal poll in every case, the aggregate reduction being over 7,000, and it is not denied by their strongest critics that their campaign contributed materially to the results at Jarrow and Colne Valley.

History of the Elections.

The last contested by-election of 1906 was at Huddersfield on November 28th. The Liberal held the seat in a three-cornered contest, but with a reduced majority over the Labour and Unionist candidates ; the majority over the latter falling by 1,000 votes.

In January, 1907, the death of Mr. T. D. Bolton made a vacancy at North-east Derbyshire. To avert a three-cornered contest the seat was offered to the Derbyshire miners. Mr. W. E. Harvey, their nominee, held the seat, but the majority fell 1,040 votes below that of 1906. This was a gain of a seat to the Liberal Trade-union group. In February, Mr. Bryce, our new Ambassador at Washington, resigned his seat at South Aberdeen. The Liberal candidate was opposed both by a Unionist and Mr. Bramley, an Independent Socialist, Great enthusiasm was aroused by the Socialist campaign, and the vote—1,740—was regarded locally as astonishingly large. The Liberals just held the seat, but lost over 4,000 votes from their majority. A week later they lost a seat at Brigg, their candidate being Captain the Hon. F. Guest, who had already lost his party a seat at Cockermouth. The local Labour Party took an active part in this contest on account of the grievances of the men employed in Guest, Keen & Co.'s works in South Wales.

At Hexham, in March, the Liberals held a seat with the loss of 1,000 votes from their majority. In May the Right Hon. Henry Chaplin reappeared in the House of Commons, this time as member for Wimbledon, defeating the Hon. Bertrand Russell, a Liberal, and well-known advocate of Women's Suffrage. He did not, however, receive the support either of the official Liberals or of the militant Women Suffragists ; the latter being occupied at Stepney in opposing the Government candidate.

In June the Liberals fought Rutland, but the Unionist majority was nearly doubled.

Jarrow and Colne Valley.

In July there were two sensational elections ; that at Jarrow on the 6th, and in the Colne Valley on the 18th.

At Jarrow there were four candidates, and the Women's Union practically made a fifth party in the field. The seat had always been held by Sir C. Mark

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Palmer, and the result of the election could hardly be foretold. Pete Curran, the Labour Party's candidate, was known to be highly popular among the workmen, and generally respected for his ability and integrity, and the surprise of the result was not his success, but the fall of the Liberal to the third place on the poll.

In the Colne Valley, Victor Grayson, the Socialist candidate, could not be supported by the Labour Party, for certain technical reasons, but with the aid of the united local Labour and Socialist organisations won a triumphant victory. The contest turned entirely upon the questions of Socialism and Women's Suffrage, practically nothing else being discussed.

At the end of July another three-cornered contest was avoided by the N.W. Stafford seat, vacant through Mr. Billson's sudden death, being handed over to the Staffordshire miners, another gain to the Trade-union group.

Thus in less than six months the Ministry had handed two of their seats to the Trade-union group, lost one to the Unionists, one to the Labour Party, and one to the Socialists.

In August, Bury St. Edmund's was retained by the Unionists with more than double their 1906 majority. The Labour Party took no part in this election, but the Women's Union was very active.

In September the death of Mr. McIver, the Unionist member for the Kirkdale Division of Liverpool, caused a by-election. The Boiler-makers' Society adopted as their candidate J. Hill, who had contested Govan Division unsuccessfully at the General Election. The Liberals took no part officially in the election. The Unionists were enabled not only to hold the seat, but even slightly to improve their position.

In November, on the death of Lord Nunburnholme (C. H. Wilson, M.P.), his son, the Hon. C. H. W. Wilson, M.P., succeeded to the title, creating a vacancy at West Hull.

The Swing of the Pendulum.

Since the General Election there had been at November 1st, 1907, no fewer than 49 by-elections, including 15 in Ireland. Of the 34 elections in Great Britain, four were left unopposed by the Liberals and eight unopposed by the Unionists. Thus there were 22 contested elections (exclusive of Ireland). One of these—Kirkdale—lay between the Unionist and Labour Parties. In the remaining 21 contests, both Liberals and Conservatives took part. Making a careful estimate for the seats uncontested at the previous election we get the following summary :—

	Votes at General Election.	Votes at By-Elections.	Gain or Loss.
Liberal	114,506	89,298	−25,208
Unionist	85,971	94,250	+ 8,279
Majority	28,535 L.	4,952 U.	+33,487 U.

The Huddersfield by-election is the only possible basis of comparison for the change of votes as between Liberal and Labour Parties, since they were not opposed to one another at the General Election either in Cockermouth, Aberdeen, or Colne Valley, nor at the by-election in Kirkdale. Therefore no summary of the Labour vote is given.

The effect of the swing of the pendulum upon the balance of parties in the House is dealt with on page 23.

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BY-ELECTIONS: 1906-1907.

Constituency.	Date.	By-Election.	General Election, 1906.	Result.
	1906.			
Armagh (North)	Nov. 16	W. Moore (C.) 4,299 L. Crawford (I.C.) 1,433	Col. Saunderson (C.)...Unopp.	—
Huddersfield	,, 28	A. Sherwell (L.) 5,762 T. R. Williams (Lab.) 5,422 J. F. Fraser (C.) 4,844	Sir J. Woodhouse (L.) 6,302 T. R. Williams (Lab.) 5,813 J. F. Fraser (C.) 4,391	Decreased L. Majority.
Cork (Mid)	Dec. 31	D. D. Sheehan (N.) ...Unopp.	D. D Sheehan (N.) .....Unopp.	—
	1907.			
Derbyshire (N.E.)	Jan. 30	W. E. Harvey (Miners) 6,644 Dr. Court (U.) 5,915	T. D. Bolton (L.) 7,665 Dr. Court (U.) 5,896	Decreased L. Majority.
Perth	Feb. 12	Sir R. Pullar (L.) .....Unopp.	R. Wallace (L.) 2,875 S. Chapman (C.) 1,867	—
Banffshire	,, 16	W. Waring (L.) 3,901 W. Whitelaw (C.) 1,892	A. W. Black (L.) 4,101 J. A. Grant (C.) 1,901	Decreased L. Majority.
Monmouthshire (North)	,, 19	R. McKenna (L.) .....Unopp.	R. McKenna (L.) .....Unopp.	—
Aberdeen (South)	,, 20	G. B. Esslemont (L.) 3,779 R. McNeill (C.) 3,412 F. Bramley (Soc.) 1,740	J. Bryce (L.) 6,780 W. G. Black (U.) 2,332	Decreased L. Majority
Brigg (Lincoln)	,, 26	Sir B. Sheffield (C.) 5,389 Hon. F. Guest (L.) 5,273	H. J. Reckitt (L.) 5,753 Capt. Smythe (C.) 4,027	Con. Gain from Lib.
Halifax	March 5	J. H. Whitley (L.) ... Unopp.	J. H. Whitley (L.) 9,354 J. Parker (Lab.) 8,937 Sir S. Crossley (U.) 5,041	—
Tyrone (North)	,, 8	R. Barry (L.) 3,013 D. Henry (U.) 3,006	Serjeant Dodd (L.) 2,966 D. Henry (U.) 2,957	Decreased L. Majority.
Hexham (Northumberland)	,, 27	R. D. Holt (L.) 5,401 Col. Bates (C.) 4,244	W. C. B. Beaumont (L.) 5,632 S. Clayton (C.) 3,547	Decreased L. Majority.
Westmeath (South)	April 13	Sir W. Nugent (N.) .....Unopp.	D. Sullivan (N.) ..... Unopp.	—
Belfast (North)	,, 17	G. Clark (C.) 6,021 W. Walker (Ind. Lab.) 4,194	D. Dixon (C.) 4,907 W. Walker (Lab.) 4,616	Increased C. Majority.

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Constituency.	Date.	By-Election.	General Election, 1906.	Result.
	1907.			
Stepney (Tower Hamlets) ...	May 10	L. Harris (C.) ..... 2,299 B. Cooper (Lib.-Lab.) ... 1,350	Sir W. E. Gordon (C.) ... 2,490 D. Stokes (L.) 1,853	Increased C. Majority.
Wimbledon (Surrey)	,, 14	H. Chaplin (C.) .....10,263 B. Russell (W. Suff. & L.) 3,299	C. E. Hambro (C.)..... 9,523 Lane Fox-Pitt (L.)..... 7,409	Increased C. Majority.
Hornsey (Middlesex).....	June 5	Lord Ronaldshay (C.)...Unopp.	Capt. Balfour (C.)..... 8,859 C. Tomkinson (L.)..... 7,289	—
Rutlandshire	,, 11	J. Gretton (C.)..... 2,213 W. F. Lyon (L.)..... 1,362	G. H. Finch (C.)..... 2,047 Harold Pearson (L.)..... 1,564	Increased C. Majority.
Monaghan (North).....	,, 19	J. C. Lardner (N.)..... Unopp.	P. O'Hara (N.)..... Unopp.	—
Jarrow (Durham)	July 4	P. Curran (Ind. Lab.) ... 4,698 P. Rose-Innes (C.)..... 3,930 S. L. Hughes (L.) ..... 3,474 J. O'Hanlon (N.) 2,124	Sir C. M. Palmer (L.)..... 8,047 P. Curran (Ind. Lab.)..... 5,093	Ind. Lab. gain from Lib.
Colne Valley (Yorks.)	,, 18	Victor Grayson (Soc.) ... 3,648 P. Bright (L.)..... 3,495 G. Wheler (C.)..... 3,227	Sir J. Kitson (L.).....Unopp.	Soc. Gain from Lib.
Kilkenny (South)	,, 29	N. J. Murphy (N.) .....Unopp.	J. O'Mara (N.) .....Unopp.	—
Wicklow (East)	,, 29	J. Muldoon (N.) .....Unopp.	D. J. Cogan (N.) .....Unopp.	—
Stafford (N.W.)	,, 31	A. Stanley (Miners) ..... 7,396 T. W. Twyford (C.) 5,047	A. Billson (L.)..... 7,667 Sir J. Heath (C.)..... 5,557	Increased L. Majority.
Anglesey	Aug. 21	Ellis Griffith (L.).....Unopp.	E. Griffith (L.)..... 5,166 C. F. Priestley (C.)..... 2,638	—
Bury St. Edmunds.....	,, 24	Hon. W. Guiness (C.)..... 1,631 W. B. Yates (L.)..... 741	Capt. F. W. Hervey (C.) 1,481 W. B. Yates (L.)..... 1,047	Increased C. Majority.
Longford (South)	Sept. 5	J. Phillips (N.) ..... Unopp.	Hon. E. Blake (N.) .....Unopp.	—
Down (West)	,, 6	Lord A. Hill (U.) ..... 3,702 A. Beattie (L.)..... 2,918	H. Liddell (U.).....Unopp.	—
Liverpool (Kirkdale).....	,, 26	A. McArthur (U.) ..... 4,000 J. Hill (Lab.) 3.330	D. McIver (C.)..... 3,749 Conley (Lab.) 3,157	Increased C. Majority.

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CLOSE OF THE SESSION OF 1906.

OWING to the lateness of the Autumn Session of 1906 it was not possible to include in *The Reformer's Year Book* for 1907 the final legislative results of the session. The following brief summary and chronology give all the important facts:—

Workmen's Compensation Bill.

This was further widened in the Commons by the inclusion of domestic servants, and, at the suggestion of Keir Hardie, by the recognition of illegitimate children as children within the meaning of the Act. The Bill was carried through the Lords without serious opposition, and received the Royal Assent. A special article is devoted to it. (See page 157).

Trade Disputes Bill.

This Bill passed through both houses in a form finally acceptable to the Labour Party, except that there was omitted from its operation disputes relating to land. This omission would not have been made if the Labour Party contained among its members representatives of the landed working classes as well as the townsmen.

Feeding of School Children.

The Labour Party's Bill dealing with this subject was carried successfully through the House of Commons. The House of Lords refused to allow it to be applicable to Scotland. This stupid omission was sanctioned by the House of Commons for the sake of the clauses that remained. Keir Hardie protested.

The Education Bill.

The Lords having mutilated the Government's Education Bill, the House of Commons was called upon to refuse the Lords Amendments en bloc; this it did, and the Lords refusing to give way the Bill dropped. Keir Hardie urged the necessity of the secular solution.

The Lords threw out the Plural Voting Bill; the Town Tenants' (Ireland) Bill was accepted in a modified form; and the Land Tenure Bill transformed into the Agricultural Holdings' Bill was also passed.

Nov. 26, 27, 28. Plural Voting Bill, report.
„ 29. Workmen's Compensation Bill, report.
„ 30. Town Tenants (Ireland) Bill read a third time, 201—28.
Dec. 3. Plural Voting Bill 3rd reading.
„ 4. Compensation Bill, report stage; Walsh, Glover, Wardle.
„ 5. Compensation Bill, report stage, servants included; Barnes, Shackleton, Hardie.
„ 6. Compensation Bill, report stage; Gill, Hardie, Barnes, Jowett.
Education Bill, provision of meals.
„ 7. Statement as to business.
Provision of meals; Hardie, Crooks.
„ 10, 11, 12. Education Bill; Hardie.
„ 13. Compensation Bill read third time; Gill, Hardie.
Provision of Meals third time.
„ 14. National Galleries, Scotland. Census of production.
„ 15. Transvaal and O. R. C. Constitutions.
„ 16. Wireless telegraphy. Public Trustee Bill.
„ 17. Irish town tenants. Public Trustee Bill.
„ 20. Education Bill; Hardie.
„ 21. Questions about the Lords.
Provision of meals; Hardie.
Parliament prorogued.

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THE SESSION OF 1907.

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence and G. C. Cope, Barrister-at-Law.

The most severe critics of the Government or of Members of the House of Commons will admit that a great deal of hard work was done during the Session of 1907, and that a considerable number of measures were placed upon the statute book. On the other hand, it would be difficult for any defender of the party in power to maintain that any very serious strides in the direction of reform were accomplished, or even attempted, by the Government, or to deny that in the field of administration there was much that demands severe condemnation.

The most prominent Act of the Session was the Territorial Army Act, which reorganises the military forces of the country. The measure is one of very great detail, and is examined below; it is regarded by many people as the last step before an actual attempt at compulsory military service. It is against this idea, which seems to be gaining ground in this country, that the utmost vigilance of reformers is required. Already three-quarters of the national revenue is devoted to armaments or towards paying for past wars, and while the Continental countries are obliged to spend on military preparations a great part of their resources, it ought to be sufficient if this country is provided with a strong navy and a small voluntary army for effective purposes.

The only other Act of any importance was the Small Holdings Act, which undoubtedly does proceed in the right direction towards the settlement of the land question, providing for security of small tenants rather than for small holders, and thus preventing the land from speedily reverting to its former control.

Of the remaining measures it is not necessary to speak in any detail, as a synopsis will be found below.

What was Left Undone.

It is significant to notice the omissions of the Government programme. No attempt was made during the Session to deal with the pressing question of the enfranchisement of women, the small Bill dealing with the qualifications of women to serve on local bodies being the only measure put forward by the Government. Nor was any measure introduced dealing with the important and urgent question of the Unemployed. The feeding of school children was not extended to Scotland.

The Temperance Bill promised by the Government was not forthcoming. The same fate attended promises with regard to the Coal Mines Eight Hours measure. On the other hand, the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill, introduced by a private member, was taken up by the Government and carried into law, but while so doing the Government made certain concessions to the Bishops and gave them a power which has been speedily abused.

An important feature of the Session was the Budget introduced by Mr. Asquith, on April 18th, which is dealt with fully below. Some of the principles which were adopted were those which we advocated in the 1907 edition of this book, but they were carried out in such a way that the advantages, instead of going to those most in need, were derived almost exclusively by the middle classes, and postponement of the large issue of Old Age Pensions

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and other real reforms affecting the working classes is delayed into the Budget of 1908.

The most serious accusation, however, against the Government comes in the direction of administrative action which, with one solitary exception, was seriously retrogressive. The exception to which we refer was their action in supporting the new Transvaal Government against the attempt of the Rand financiers to force them into submission to the power of the purse. The chaos to which Transvaal finance had been reduced by the Milner régime necessitated prompt measures by the new Government on the spot, and it was essential that a loan should be raised. This seemed to give the Rand financiers an opportunity of controlling the Government, and they would have done so but for the assistance of our Government at home in offering to guarantee the Transvaal, and thus enabling it to obtain money at a reasonable rate of interest.

In other matters of policy the Liberal Government acted in direct opposition to all advanced feeling in this country. At the Hague the British Delegates took up a reactionary line and defeated some of the more important proposals. Against this the Liberal newspapers themselves have protested. On October 18th, the *Tribune* wrote in its leading article:—

> "Had we gone into the Conference, we will not say with a more faithful and generous spirit, but simply with a truer perception of our own interests in this matter, other propositions, and especially that respecting armaments, would from the outset have occupied a more favourable place."

The agreement carried through with Russia, and protracted until just after the prorogation of Parliament, was not only bad in itself but served to buttress up the autocracy in that country at a time when it was most essential that it should be made clear that the friendship of Great Britain was with the people in their struggle for constitutional freedom. It is well known that the success of the democratic element depends upon the inability of the Czar to continue to raise money, and everything which tends to increase the credit of the Russian Government tends to the suppression of popular liberty.

India and Egypt.

Still more serious has been the total failure of Mr. Morley to support Liberal principles in India, where the people, after making every constitutional effort to free themselves of their grievances, at last determined to hold meetings where they could publicly denounce the action of the British Government. In defiance of his past history, and of all ideas of liberty, Mr. Morley has allowed the Indian officials to put into force old regulations by which men could be arrested and deported and detained in prison without either accusation or trial. Many men in India, whose past lives testify to exceptional integrity of character, have been treated in this way; but in spite of protests Mr. Morley has done nothing. It is true that he has introduced certain so-called reforms into the administration of India, but as a matter of fact these amount to nothing. The only one which appeared to be likely to be of any value was the inclusion of two additional Indians into the Indian Council, but this has been rendered valueless by the appointment of two men who, however excellent individually, do not in any way represent the best Indian opinion. A special article by G. K. Gokhale, member of the Viceregal Council appears on page 112.

In Egypt the Government has done nothing to make amends for the outrageous miscarriage of justice known as the Denshawai case, and in spite of protest from distinguished Liberals in this country, the prisoners are still undergoing penal servitude. (See page 205.)

Other matters on which the Liberal Government have failed to justify the confidence that was put in them at the last General Election have been the

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repeated dismissals at the Woolwich Arsenal, and the recommendation to honour of a man who was one of the directors of a firm that wittingly supplied a defective rudder to one of H.M. ships.

For some of the ineffectiveness of their actions the Government blame the House of Lords, and propose in the future a virulent campaign intended to weaken the power of this Chamber; but though it is true that on one or two minor measures the House of Lords have emaciated some of the Government Bills, such action has had but small effect as a whole on the Government measures, and has in no way influenced the administrative actions of the Government which are the most open to criticism.

THE TERRITORIAL ARMY ACT.

The Territorial Army Act was introduced by Mr. Haldane on March 4th, and carried through both Houses of Parliament by large majorities, and received the Royal Assent on August 2nd.

It provides for the maintenance of a field force or striking army of 160,000 men, with a reserve of 150,000; a special contingent force to be enlisted on much the lines of the present Militia, and to be liable to be called up at any time and to be sent anywhere to supply drafts to meet the wastage of war, of 80,000 men; and a territorial or home force of 300,000 men to be called up on the outbreak of war; making a total of 690,000 men who are to be trained in the use of arms.

The "Volunteers."

Members enlisting in the Home Force will do so for four years, but may re-enlist for a like period; will require to attend so many regular drills each year, and to go into camp or depôt for training for not less than eight days nor more than 15 days in every year (it is significant that the financial estimate is to be for the longer period), during which the men will be paid at the same rate as regular soldiers. Men desiring to leave before their four years are up must give three months' notice and pay £5. They may, however, be dismissed without notice. For military offences they are to be tried by court-martial. During the first year after enlistment a recruit may be sent to any part of the United Kingdom for training, must attend a specified number of drills, and perform such other duties as the War Office lays down. If when called out during a war a Volunteer fails to respond he is to be court-martialled. His pay during embodiment is that of a common soldier; so, too, during the 15 days he is up for training, a period, by-the-way, which may be extended to 30 days by an Order in Council.

Rifle Clubs.

Cadet Corps and Rifle Clubs are to be regarded as an integral portion of the Home Force, and are to share its instructors, its drill halls, and its ranges. Already there have been formed 72 Cadet Corps connected with public schools like Eton and Harrow, and at 19 of these rifle-shooting is taught.

It is, then, obvious that the whole of what has hitherto been regarded as a Volunteer Force is to be transformed into a regular military organisation, incorporated with the Regular Army, and will differ from the Regular Army only in so far as those enlisting in it will be engaged in their usual employment instead of giving their whole time, as is the case with soldiers.

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Officers.

In regard to officers there is a very serious defect in the proposals. Mr. Haldane has caused to be issued an interim report of the War Office Committee in which it is set forth that Cadet Corps and University Volunteer Battalions connected with schools, universities, and university colleges are to be utilised as an officer's training course. It is proposed to spend ultimately £250,000 a year in establishing schools of military instruction in connection with public schools such as Eton and Harrow, universities, and university colleges.

This appears to mean that the officering of the Army is to be reserved for the privileged classes. Only a limited number of those who have served their time, and who have risen to the rank of non-commissioned officers, will be placed upon the list of nominees for commissions, and apparently only then if the supply of university men runs short on the outbreak of war.

Summary.

The principal objections to the Act are on the following grounds :—

(a) Because it introduces militarism in our public schools amongst boys at their most impressionable age and ere they have arrived at years of discretion.

(b) Because the method by which officers are to be secured bars out the working class and creates an army of workers officered by rich men.

(c) Because it introduces the military element into industrial and civil relationships in a way hitherto unknown.

And, finally,

Because it will almost certainly lead to compulsory military service.

CRIMINAL APPEAL ACT (ENGLAND & WALES).

A recognised defect in our system of criminal law has hitherto been the absence of any right of appeal either on a point of fact or a point of law. A judge could, if he chose, but not otherwise, have reserved a point of law for the Court for Crown Cases Reserved. A bogus Bill on lines to put an end to the arbitrary power of withholding points of law from the Court was introduced into the House of Lords in 1905. The still greater anomaly that, while a judicial review of the mistakes of juries had been provided in comparatively trivial civil cases, none at all was provided where long undeserved terms of penal servitude had resulted from such mistakes, remained untouched. In practice the only resort in such cases was to subordinate officials of the Home Office whose serious attention to them could not always be secured except by pertinacious and influential outside pressure. The technical and legal incapacity of these officials was for once severely censured by the Beck Inquiry Committee (pp. xiv.-xix. of their report).

The Act, which has been carried in the Session of 1907, aims at remedying the defects mentioned. Its chief provisions are as follows :—

(1) There is to be an Appeal Court of nine judges, of whom not less than three together shall hear appeals.

(2) Upon the certificate of the Attorney-General there may be, as to any exceptionally important point of law, an appeal to the House of Lords.

(3) Appeals may be brought (i.) against a conviction (a) on a question of law and (b) with the leave of the Court, or the certificate of the trying judge on a question of fact alone or of mixed fact and law; and (ii.) against the sentence, unless it is one fixed by law.

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(4) In ordinary cases if the Appeal is allowed the Court shall quash the conviction and direct judgment and verdict of acquittal to be entered.
(5) On appeal against sentence the Court may pass another sentence more or less severe.
(6) The Court may assign legal assistance to the person appealing.
(7) A person appealing who is not admitted to bail may be treated in a special manner or the Court may admit him to bail.

Various other powers are given to the Court in certain contingencies, and the prerogative of mercy is to remain unaffected, except that the Home Secretary may refer a whole case or separate points to the Court.

EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND) ACT.

It is common knowledge that there is a category of Evicted Tenants in Ireland who received special recognition in the Land Purchase Act, 1903. It is to these that the Act of 1907 applies, its object being to make provision of land for them. The Estates Commissioners (appointed under the Act of 1903) are empowered by the Act of 1907 to acquire land for these tenants up to the number of two thousand. They may do this compulsorily. They may not, however, take any land in the occupation of a bona-fide tenant farmer, nor any occupied land from which a tenant has been evicted unless they think it expedient that the evicted tenant shall be reinstated as a purchaser.

Persons interested may petition against the acquisition of such land and may appeal on the ground of price to a Commissioner called the Judicial Commissioner, and on other grounds referred to in the Act to a Judge of Assize or of the King's Bench Division.

No part of any demesne, home farm, &c., or of a public undertaking shall be so taken. All sporting rights are saved. There are provisions for advances for farming stock, &c., to evicted tenants, and also to such tenants of their former holdings who may be called upon to retire in their favour.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT.

Prior to the present Act the restrictive regulations with regard to non-textile factories and workshops did not generally apply to laundries. Moreover, laundries attached to prisons, reformatories, or other institutions, even though subject to statutory inspection, did not come within the Factory Acts at all, and laundries of religious or charitable institutions were even exempt from inspection altogether. Amendment of the law in these particulars has long been demanded.

The Act of 1907 for ordinary purposes includes laundries among non-textile factories and workshops, if they are carried on by way of trade or for the purpose of gain, or as auxiliary to another business, or, incidentally, to the purpose of any public institution.

The health and safety provisions of the Act are thus extended to laundries. Unfortunately, it is not so with the limitation of hours, and women and young persons may still be worked 13 hours on three days of every week except Saturday, and 60 hours in the whole week. The hours formerly were a maximum of 14 hours per day and of 60 hours per week.

The improvement of the law is much less than was hoped for. There are, however, some good special regulations regarding temperature and ventilation.

Institutions for charitable or reformatory purposes may, unfortunately, still procure from the Home Secretary exemption of their laundries from Government inspection.

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HOUSE OF LORDS RESOLUTION.

The terms of the resolution dealing with the House of Lords which the Prime Minister introduced on June 24th, and carried through the Commons by 432 to 147, are as follows :—

> "That, in order to give effect to the will of the people, as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that, within the limits of a single Parliament, the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."

From the speech which he delivered in introducing the resolution, it is gathered that in the Bill which is to be introduced before the dissolution of the present Parliament he contemplates the following steps :—

When the Lords reject a Bill :—

A conference repre·enting both Houses to be held.
The Bill to be again passed by Commons after six months.
A further Conference.
Bill again passed by the Commons *pro forma.*
Another conference.
The Bill passed over the heads of the Lords.
If at either conference an agreement between the two Houses should be arrived at the subsequent stages are of course unnecessary.
Reduction of duration of Parliament to five years.

The amendment moved by Mr. Shackleton, in the name of the Labour Party, declared for the abolition of the Upper House on the ground that it was an impossible part of the legislature. Special article, page 104.

THE PATENTS AND DESIGNS ACT.

The Patents Act of the Government does little to remedy the serious grievances of the patentee which have been outlined for some years past. It is directed mainly to checking certain abuses which had arisen relative to foreign patentees.

Foreigners have the right to obtain British patents through the medium of an "importer." This right has been used in many illegitimate ways. Many such patents have been taken out by foreign syndicates for the express purpose of preventing manufacture in this country.

Another expedient which has been upheld in the British Courts as not being in restraint of trade was to bind British manufacturers as a condition of using a new foreign patent (the use of which for the time being may be vital) to sign a kind of lease for terms such as 20 years. It is said that nine-tenths of the British boot trade is bound by such a condition. The disastrous results in the markets of the world are obvious.

The Act seeks to remedy these abuses in various ways. There is to be greater strictness, *e.g.*, in the supply of suitable drawings, together with specifications, and with respect to particularity of description of inventions and the manner of operating them. In the case of chemicals typical samples and specimens may be required.

Five years after the date of a patent any person may apply for its revocation on the ground that the patented article or process is manufactured or carried on exclusively or mainly outside the United Kingdom. Orders may be made for compulsory licences where any existing or new trade or industry is unfairly prejudiced or the demand for the patented article is not reasonably met. Restrictive conditions of the kind mentioned above are now null and void as being in restraint of trade, and where in existence may be determined by three months' notice, subject to some compensation where entered into before the Act.

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QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN ACTS.

Two Acts, one applying to England and the other to Scotland, were passed in 1907 affecting the qualification of women to sit on local bodies. The Acts state that a woman shall not be disqualified by sex *or marriage* from being a councillor or alderman of any local body; but while she may be made a mayor, she cannot be a J.P.

It appears, however, probable that in spite of the precise wording of the Act, married women whose husbands are alive will be prohibited from serving on local bodies except in certain cases in London. This is due to the fact that wives are accounted by the law to be "under coverture," and even though paying rates in their own name do not have votes for local municipalities; and no one but electors is eligible for election. The exact state of the law has, however, not been recently tested by a decision in the Courts.

SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS ACT.

This Act provides for ascertaining the extent to which there is an unfulfilled demand in England and Wales (1) for Small Agricultural Holdings and (2) for Allotments, and it supplies machinery and powers towards meeting such demand when ascertained. The machinery consists of newly-appointed Small Holdings Commissioners, together with the existing county, borough, district, and parish councils. The powers include authority to acquire compulsorily within certain limitations land needed either for Small Holdings or Allotments.

With respect to Small Holdings it is made the duty of county councils to prepare schemes for working the Act and for carrying them out, and if the county councils fail the Commissioners may exercise all their powers. There are easy provisions for borrowing the needed purchase-money for a maximum period of 80 years and at the minimum rate of interest allowed to the Public Works Loans Commissioners.

With respect to Allotments, parish councils are to exercise the powers and duties of rural district councils under the Allotments Act. Such powers are to include the power to provide allotments of five acres instead of only one as hitherto.

Within their areas county councils are empowered and required to take steps to satisfy the demand for allotments, and if they fail, their powers may be transferred to the Commissioners.

Land may be compulsorily acquired either (1) by purchase or (2) by hiring, and no additional compensation need be made on account of such purchase or hiring being compulsory. At the end of a hiring there may be a renewal at a rent to be fixed by valuation.

No land shall be acquired compulsorily which forms part of any park, garden, pleasure-ground, home farm, &c., or which belongs to any local authority or public undertaking. County councils have special power under the Act to promote, extend, or finance co-operative societies.

Large miscellaneous powers for administering the Act are given to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.

DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER'S MARRIAGE ACT.

No marriage with a deceased wife's sister, whether contracted before or after the passing of the Act (August 28th, 1907), is any more invalid by English Law, except where either party shall after the marriage and during the lifetime of the other have lawfully married another person. In such a case the subsequent marriage will be valid and the first one void. No existing rights

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and interest of property, &c., are to be prejudiced, however, in any way by the new legislation.

There are two further qualifications :—

(1) A man may not marry the sister of his divorced wife during such wife's lifetime.

(2) Clergymen marrying their deceased wife's sister are to remain liable to Ecclesiastical censure.

VACCINATION ACT.

It will be remembered that the Vaccination Act of 1898 granted exemption from penalties for neglecting to have a child vaccinated within six months of its birth to every parent or other person having custody of the child who should obtain from two justices or one stipendiary or Metropolitan Police magistrate a certificate of his or her conscientious belief that vaccination would injure the child. It will be remembered also that the law was to all intents and purposes most impudently abrogated by a large number of magistrates who refused certificates just as their own fancy, caprice, or prejudice might suggest.

The new Act substitutes a simple statutory declaration, free of stamp duty, for the certificate formerly required.

A similar Act was passed for Scotland.

IRISH COUNCIL BILL.

The object of this Bill was to form a partially representative Administrative Council in Ireland for the direction and control of much of the public business in Ireland hitherto administered by the wholly unrepresentative officials in Dublin Castle.

The Council was to consist of 82 members chosen by the Local Government electors in six county boroughs and the 32 counties, and of 24 members nominated by the Crown, and of the Chief Secretary as an ex-officio member with the right to speak but not to vote.

The business of the Council was to comprise the powers of eight of the 45 different administrative authorities of Ireland, viz., the Local Government Board, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, the Congested District Boards, the Commissioners of Public Works, the Inspectors of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, the Registrar-General, the Commissioners of National Education, and the Intermediate Education Board. Further provision was made for the extension of the Council's control to other departments. The Council was to act by way of resolution, power being reserved to the Lord Lieutenant to reserve, and thereupon to confirm or annul, any resolution of the Council.

The financial provision of the Council was to consist of three sums charged upon the Consolidated Fund, and amounting in all to £4,164,000 annually for the first five years. For subsequent periods of five years the amount was to be fixed by the Imperial Parliament.

The Bill specially contemplated among other important reforms, the constitution of an Education Department for Ireland to exercise the power of the Commissioners of National Education and the Intermediate Education Board and the re-organisation of this department.

The non-elective element of the Council and the other shackling provisions of the Bill rendered it quite unacceptable to the people of Ireland, and it was speedily dropped.

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THE SMALL LANDOWNERS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

This Bill, which was drawn on lines closely resembling the abortive Bill of 1906, after occupying much Parliamentary time was abandoned at the close of the Session in consequence of the declared opposition of the House of Lord to some of its vital provisions.

The intention of the Bill was to encourage the formation of small agricultural holdings in Scotland with security of tenure to the tenants, and, as part of the machinery for this purpose, to constitute a Scottish Land Court and Agricultural Commissioners.

The main provisions of the Bill were as follows :—

I.—To extend the Crofters* Acts throughout Scotland.

These rights of crofters practically amount to the following :—

(1) Security of tenure so long as they (a) pay their rent, (b) do not persistently damage the buildings, and (c) do not persistently injure the soil, &c.

(2) Fair rents, and remission of arrears in some cases.

(3) The right to go at a year's notice with full compensation for improvements ;

(4) Compensation for improvements generally ;

(5) The right for five or more to apply for more land if (a) there is land available ; (b) the applicants are willing to take it on lease ; and (c) the landlord refuses to let.

II.—To extend these benefits to

(a) All tenants from year to year of agricultural or pastoral holdings (with certain exceptions) at a rent of not more than £50 who reside and cultivate ;

(b) To leaseholders on similar terms ;

(c) To persons making out a case for being registered and admitted as tenants on similar terms.

III.—To extend the system of cultivation which entitles to the benefits of the Crofters' Acts to horticulture, stock-breeding, bee-keeping, &c.

IV.—To enable a single land-holder to apply for his holding to be enlarged.

V.—To constitute a Scottish Land Court and Agricultural Commissioners with wide jurisdiction to promote rural interests and to carry out the working of the measure.

The loss of the Bill is most unfortunate. It is to be re-introduced next Session.

UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN BILL.

This Bill was introduced by members of both the Labour Groups, but never reached a Second Reading. It had a refreshing lucidity and directness by contrast with the obscure and impracticable Unemployed Act as passed by a Conservative and administered by a Liberal Government.

It provided for the constitution of Local and Central Unemployment Authorities with powers and duties which may be summarised as follows :—

(1) To form schemes to provide (a) reasonable public work, and in default (b) public maintenance for genuine and willing workers when in need through unemployment.

* By these Acts a crofter is (*a*) a tenant of an arable or pasture, holding from year to year ; (*b*) who resides there ; (*c*) at a rent of not more than £30 ; (*d*) in a crofting parish. Crofting parishes comprise all the parishes in six highland counties, with the exception of 12.

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(2) To secure complete registration of unemployed persons in the areas of such authorities.

(3) To provide work or maintenance as above defined for registered unemployed persons in accordance with the scheme applicable to each area.

The Bill further contained the following provisions and precautions :—

(a) A refusal to accept reasonable work shall release the authority from its duties under the Bill.

(b) Applicants are (i.) to be classified, (ii.) set to work that is suitable, and (iii.) if physically or industrially unfit, treated with a special view to their ultimate improvement.

(c) In cases of unemployment due to deliberate and habitual disinclination to work, authorities may have permission to enforce the performance of reasonable work.

(d) During trade disputes authorities shall not supply blackleg labour to firms involved in them.

(e) While the cost of schemes generally may be defrayed variously, in accordance with circumstances, out of local or Imperial funds, the cost of emigration and establishment charges shall be met from local funds and rates.

(f) Relief shall not disqualify from voting.

It also conferred on all authorities large powers for equipment of all kinds, and for the compulsory acquisition of land.

In conclusion, the Bill definitely directed the Local Government Board to draw up schemes for employment on works of national utility and to carry them out in times of exceptional distress.

WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT BILLS.

Two Bills dealing with women's enfranchisement were introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Dickinson during the Session of 1907.

The first Bill, which was talked out on March 8th, was a very simple one, containing two clauses, to the effect: (1) That for purpose of Parliamentary voting, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include women. (2) That marriage shall be no disqualification. Any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Second Bill, introduced on August 14th and not discussed, made two important additions to these simple clauses; the one a proviso to the first clause, making plural voting, which is legal for men, illegal for women, and the second another clause altogether, giving a woman the right to vote on her husband's qualification as joint occupier (whereas under the existing franchise laws two men living together cannot qualify as joint occupiers). Both these provisos would imply a drastic change in the franchise laws of the country, and would make a different franchise for women from that accorded to men. This is a bad principle to start with. And if there is any idea of getting a similar Bill through Parliament in the future, the addition of these provisos is very bad tactics. For while leaving the enemies of women's enfranchisement united in their opposition, it divides all the friends of the cause. Few indeed of the 420 members pledged to support Women's Suffrage would support this Bill.

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OTHER LEGISLATIVE MEASURES.

COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.

A simple Bill was brought in by members representing the Miners' Federation and by others to limit the working hours below ground in coal mines to nine during 1908, to 8½ during 1909, and to eight thenceforward. The Bill, after special report, was dropped in anticipation of a long-promised Government Bill, which was introduced in August, but failed to reach a Second Reading.

The Government Bill varied the limitations in the first Bill to nine hours from January, 1908, to June 30th, 1909, and to eight hours thenceforward. It contained further provisions to facilitate the application of the Act to workmen working in shifts, and to cases of workmen rendering assistance in the event of accident, danger, or emergency where interruption would be serious. It also dealt with the fixing of the times for lowering and raising shifts, and provided for registering all times of descent and ascent. It empowered the workmen to station their own representatives at the pit-head at all times. It authorised an extension of one hour a day for not more than 60 days in any year, and it empowered the Crown to suspend the Act by Order in Council in the event of war or serious emergency.

EDUCATION (PROVISION OF MEALS) SCOTLAND BILL.

It will be remembered that the House of Lords struck out Scotland from the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906. A Bill to restore Scotland to participation in the benefits of that measure was introduced by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, read a second time, and committed to the Standing Committee on Law by large majorities, and was reported from that Committee on April 23rd. It failed, however, to make any further progress.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS BILL.

The only definite effort towards Old-age Pensions in the Session of 1907 was the Bill presented by Mr. D. H. Lever. The expressed object was to provide pensions for persons of 65 years of age and upwards. It proposed that in its first year of operation pensions should be payable to persons of 75 years, in the second year to persons of 70 years, and in the third year and thereafter to persons of 65 years. The funds were to be provided as to nine-tenths by the Exchequer and as to one-tenth by local taxation. The Government accepted the principle of the Bill in the usual way, but, also in the usual way, demurred to its concrete proposals. The Bill passed Second Reading by a large majority on May 10th, but made no further progress.

PROGRAMME FOR THE SESSION, 1908.

It is rare that it is possible to predict with any degree of certainty the course of legislation in the following year, but on this occasion the Government have been so definite in their promises that, unless a complete change of front is adopted by them, it is possible to give in fair detail all the principal measures which are to be introduced during 1908.

In the first place, it is authoritatively announced that there is to be a new Education Bill. With regard to this, it is to be hoped that the Government will take their courage in both hands, and put forward the only solution which is likely to be permanent, viz., that of secular education. We are convinced that if they do this they will have the support of most right-thinking men throughout the country, who are tired of the perpetual squabble between

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the clerics of various denominations. The country knows by this time that secular education is not synonymous with secularism, and is convinced that there is no other way out of the present entanglement. If any other attempted solution is forthcoming the Government must not be surprised at its rejection by the House of Lords and by the comparative indifference of the people of the country thereto.

Another important measure which is promised is a Bill dealing with the Port of London, which is now long overdue. It is anticipated that will provide for the abolition of certain existing authorities, the creation of a supreme controlling port authority, and the raising of the necessary revenue, not from the rates, but by a small additional freight charge. Mr. John Burns also stated, with the support of the Prime Minister, on August 7th, that he hoped to bring in a Housing and Town Planning Bill. With regard to this important question, a special article will be found on p. 108 of this issue.

The Licensing Bill.

The promise of the Government to deal immediately with the temperance question is still outstanding, and it is understood that the Government will put this into effect in 1908. Speaking at the annual meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance, at Manchester, on October 15th, 1907, Mr. Lloyd George said: "I hope the Government are going to do something next year. Nay, more, we are going to do something. It is the great Bill on which the Government is going to concentrate all its energy." A special article on this subject appears on page 143.

There is also promised a Bill dealing with Irish Universities and one dealing with Taxation of Land Values (see page 120.) A Coal Mines Eight Hours' Bill is also promised, and a measure dealing with the unemployed has been foreshadowed for some time past. Mr. Asquith's statement during the Budget speech also indicated quite definitely that a scheme would be propounded in 1908 for making a commencement of Old-age Pensions. This will be looked forward to by all reformers with very great interest. A special article on this subject will be found on p. 129.

It is further expected in some quarters that there will be a measure for effecting the disestablishment of the Church in Wales. But the statement of the Government is that it will be introduced in 1909.

Finally, there is the serious question of the conflict with the House of Lords. Though Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has not yet definitely stated that the Bill carrying into effect the principles of the resolution of 1907 will be introduced in 1908, yet this measure cannot be long delayed, especially in view of the likelihood of the Peers rejecting some of the measures which are sent up to them during the forthcoming Session. In this event it seems likely that a special Session will be held either in the autumn of 1908 or in the spring of 1909 for passing the House of Lords Bill, and on its defeat by the Upper Chamber an appeal will be made at once to the country. In this connection it should be noticed that authoritative pronouncements have been made by members of the Cabinet to the effect that the next General Election will be fought on the "Constitutional Issue." But in taking this course the Government have to face the women of the country, who are determined that while the House of Lords and House of Commons are equally unrepresentative of women no other question shall be allowed to take precedence of the supreme constitutional issue of the Enfranchisement of their Sex.

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Reynolds's Newspaper.

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PARLIAMENTARY CHRONOLOGY.

(The names following the subject refer to the Labour Men taking part in the discussion.)

ARMY.

Feb. 25, 27, 28. Army proposals sketched by Mr. Haldane; Hardie.
Mch. 6, 12, 14, June 11, 20, July 31. Army Votes in Supply.
,, 20. Second reading of Army Annual Bill.

ARMY (TERRITORIAL AND RESERVE FORCES) BILL.

Mch. 4. Introduced by Mr. Haldane.
Apl. 9, 10. Discussion on second reading.
,, 23. Second reading carried; Macdonald.
May 28, 29. In committee.
June 3, 4, 5, 10. In committee.
,, 17, 18. Report stage.
,, 19. Third reading carried by 286—63.
July 30. Discussion on Lords' amendments; Shackleton, Macdonald.

BELFAST, STRIKE AT

July 18. Macdonald discusses the strike on the motion for adjournment.
,, 25. Statement by Mr. Birrell.
Aug. 1, 6, 7. Questions relating to the riots; O'Grady.
,, 8. Further questions; Curran, Shackleton, Grayson, Clynes, O'Grady.
,, 13. Questions by Curran, Henderson, Summerbell; statement by Mr. Haldane.
,, 15. Discussed, introduced by Curran; Mr. Birrell's statement.

BUDGET AND FINANCE BILL.

Apl. 18. Budget statement (see pp. 64-7.)
,, 22, 24. Budget discussed; Snowden.
May 1, 8. Report on Budget completed.
,, 13. Finance Bill, 2nd reading discussion; Barnes.
,, 14. Fiscal amendment defeated 376—108. Second reading of Finance Bill carried 304—54; Macdonald.
July 1, 2, 3, 9, 11. Through committee.
,, 16. Through report.
,, 30. Third reading carried; Curran.

CHINESE LABOUR.

Feb. 26. Discussion.
May 2, 15. Unlicensed Chinese for the Transvaal; Walsh.
July 25. Figures relating to repatriation.
Aug. 26. Questions answered.

COAL MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.

Feb. 15. Labour Party's Bill introduced by Walsh.
Apl. 12. Second reading; Walsh.

CRIMINAL APPEAL BILL.

Apl. 17. Introduced by the Attorney-General.
May 8, 30. Second reading agreed to.
July 19. Report stage.
,, 29. Report stage completed. Third reading carried 102—28.
Aug. 19. Lords' amendments agreed to.
,, 28. Royal assent.

EDUCATION ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Feb. 15. Introduced by Mr. Rea.

EDUCATION (ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS) BILL.

Feb. 26. Introduced by Mr. McKenna.
July 31. Second reading agreed to.
Aug. 12. Report and third reading.
,, 28. Royal assent.

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EDUCATION PROVISION OF MEALS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Feb. 15. Introduced by Macdonald.
Mch. 1. Second reading, 227—52.
Apl. 23. Reported from committee.

EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND) BILL.

Feb. 14. Irish amendment to the Address.
June 27. Bill introduced by Mr. Birrell.
July 8. Second reading carried by 315—98.
,, 17, 22, 23, 24. Through committee.
,, 29. Report stage.
Aug. 2. Third reading carried, 228—49.
,, 20. Lords' amendments considered.
,, 26. Further Lords' amendments considered.
,, 27. Ditto agreed.
,, 28. Royal assent.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP BILL.

June 17. Brought from the Lords and read a first time.
Aug. 6. Second reading; Gill.
,, 21. Report stage and third reading; Gill, Henderson, Duncan.
,, 28. Royal assent.

HOUSE OF LORDS RESOLUTION.

June 24. Introduced by Prime Minister; Shackleton.
,, 25, 26. Labour amendment defeated, 315—100; Henderson, Macpherson. Resolution carried, 432—147.

INDIA.

May 13. Treatment of Indian political prisoners; O'Grady.
June 6. Mr. Morley's Budget statement; O'Grady.
,, 18. Questions relating to Indian prisoners; O'Grady.
July 2, 9. Further questions.
,, 16. Figures relating to deaths from plague.
,, 23. Questions concerning Indian press telegrams; O'Grady
Aug. 5. Council of India Bill second reading; O'Grady.

IRISH COUNCILS BILL.

May 7. Introduced by Mr. Birrell; Macdonald.
July 29. Bill withdrawn.

LAND VALUES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

May 13. Introduced by the Lord Advocate.
July 10. Second reading carried by 294—76; Barnes.
Aug. 20. Report stage and third reading.
(Rejected in the Lords.)

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

Feb. 15. Introduced by Sir B. Gurdon.
,, 22. Second reading carried, 263—34; Henderson.
June 7. Discussion in Report stage.
Aug. 14. Report concluded and 3rd reading carried.
,, 27. Lords' amendments agreed to.
,, 28. Royal assent.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Feb. 19, 20. Colonial preference defeated, 353—98; Macdonald.
,, 21. Votes on Supply.
,, 27. Resolution for disestablishment and disendowment of church carried, 198—90.
Mch. 6. Peasant Proprietorship Bill of Jesse Collings; Macdonald, railway servants; Wardle, Hudson.
,, 12. Irish fisheries.
,, 13. Supply; Irish Criminal Law.
,, 19. The payment of the L. & N.W. Railway directors to the moderate campaign fund.
,, 20. Equalisation of rates; Crooks.
,, 22. Metric System Bill, 2nd reading defeated, 150 to 118; Shackleton.
,, 26. Taxation reform for social reform, resolution agreed to.

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Apl. 8. Church Army workshops, question by Henderson.
„ 12. Sweated Industries Bill; Henderson.
„ 26. Local Option Scotland, 2nd reading carried; Henderson.
May 1. Resolution on shop hours; Shackleton, Seddon.
„ 1. Resolution on town development carried; Jowett.
„ 2. Compulsory Weighing Bill, 2nd reading carried; Roberts, Hodge.
„ 9. Post-office vote; Seddon, Wilkie, O'Grady.
„ 10. L.C.C. Electric Bill; Bowerman. Second reading carried on May 27.
June 3. Statement of business; Macdonald.
„ 5. Anglo-Russian agreement question; Macdonald. Trade Unions and Government contracts; Clynes.
July 4. Debate on Irish University education.
„ 15. Colonial preference defeated, 404—111; Curran.
„ 18. Home Office vote; Macdonald, Shackleton.
„ 19. Telegraph Money Bill, committee.
„ 23 and 24. Metropolitan Water Board charges.
„ 25. Irish agricultural vote.
„ 26. Future business of the House; Macdonald.
Butter Bill, Telegraph Money Bill, Probation of Offenders Bill, Released Persons Bill, all read a third time and passed.
„ 29. Question about Russian agreement; Macdonald.
„ 30. Egypt Denshawai sentences. Grant to Lord Cromer; Grayson.
Aug. 1. Supply report (Sugar Convention, Hague, Congo, Egypt, &c.).
„ 5. Non-provided schools in Wales.
„ 15. Appropriation Bill second reading; Crooks, Curran.
„ 23. Public accounts committee (defective rudder debate).
„ 27. Various Bills completed.
„ 28. Prorogation.

NATIVE RACES.

Feb. 12. The New Hebrides Convention.
Mch. 11. The New Hebrides Convention discussed.
May 15. Debate on the Congo.
July 30. Egypt Denshawai sentences.
Aug. 27. The Nigeria Railway.

NAVY.

Mch. 5, 7. The Estimates; Jenkins, Barnes, Wilkie.
„ 14. Vote on supply.
Apl. 25. Government proposals; Jenkins.
June 11, 20. Vote on supply; Crooks.
July 31. Vote on supply.

NOTIFICATION OF BIRTHS BILL.

Apl. 23. Introduced by Lord R. Cecil and read a first time.
May 8. Read a second time.
Aug. 23. Report stage and third reading.
„ 27. Lords' amendments agreed to.
„ 28. Royal assent.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Feb. 13. Debate on the Address; Barnes, Hodge, Shackleton, Hardie.
„ 20. Amendment to the Address defeated, 207—47; Thorne, O'Grady, Crooks, Hardie.
May 10. Second reading of Mr. Lever's Bill; Crooks.

PATENTS AND DESIGNS BILL.

Mch. 19. Introduced by Mr. Lloyd George.
Apl. 17. Second reading agreed to.
Aug. 9. Report stage.
„ 13. Third reading.
„ 27. Lords' amendments agreed to.
„ 28. Royal assent.

RULES OF PROCEDURE.

Mch. 20, 25, 26. Debate on proposals of Prime Minister.
Apl. 11, 15, 16. Further discussion; carried 359—124.

SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS BILL.

May 27. Introduced by Mr. Harcourt.
June 12, 13. Second reading agreed to.

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Aug. 12, 13, 14. Report stage.
,, 16. Third reading.
,, 26, 27. Discussion on Lords' amendments.
,, 28. Royal assent.

SMALL LANDHOLDERS SCOTLAND BILL.

Mch. 19. Introduced by Mr. Sinclair.
Apl. 29, 30. Second reading carried; Barnes.
Aug. 6, 7, 8. Report stage.
,, 9. Third reading, 190—63.
,, 22. Abandoned owing to amendments of House of Lords.

TITLES, PURCHASE OF.

July 11. Mr. Lea on Sir James Smith and the Ayrshire Foundry Company.
,, 15, 16. Further discussion; Shackleton.

THE TRANSVAAL.

Mch. 12. Discussion on the Transvaal Constitution.
May 30. Transvaal riots; Walsh.
June 4. Questions relating to Transvaal loan.
July 25. Position of Asiatics in Transvaal.
Aug. 12. Ditto; Richards.
,, 19, 20, and 21. Transvaal Loan Bill carried through all stages and passed.

UNEMPLOYED.

Mch. 27. Discussed on motion for adjournment; Hardie, Clynes.
July 9. Bill introduced by Macdonald.

VACCINATION.

Feb. 15. Amendment to the Address.
Apl. 30. Bill introduced by Mr. Burns.
May 24. 2nd reading carried, 122—14.
July 26. Report stage and third reading.
Aug. 22. Agreement with Lords' amendments.
,, 28. Royal assent.

WOMEN.

Feb. 13. Women's demonstration outside the House; Hardie.
Mch. 8. Second reading discussion of Women's Enfranchisement Bill "on equal terms" introduced by Mr. Dickinson; Snowden, Shackleton.
Aug. 1. Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Bill, having been brought from the Lords, was read a first time.
,, 12. Second reading of the same.
,, 14. Women's Enfranchisement Bill "on special terms" introduced by Mr. Dickinson.
,, 16. Qualification Bill amended in committee; Henderson.
,, 21. Ditto report and 3rd reading.
,, 28. Royal assent.

WOOLWICH.

Feb. 25. Discharges from the Arsenal; Henderson.
Aug. 1. Questions by Crooks.
,, 15. Discussion introduced by Crooks.

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NATIONAL FINANCE.

THE budget for 1907-8, introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on April 18th, 1907, made two important changes in taxation. The first of these was the differentiation between earned and unearned incomes; and the second the increase in the death duties on estates exceeding £150,000.

A third important feature of the budget was the setting aside of a sum of £1,500,000 (temporarily added to the sinking fund) to form a nucleus of a scheme for providing old-age pensions. The exact words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be found quoted on page 129.

The only remaining features of special interest were the decrease in the army estimates of some £2,000,000, and the increase of the amount on Education and other civil services (including a special grant of £200,000 to necessitous schools) by about a million. In reference to Education, Mr. Asquith stated that in the year 1906–7 the payments on this account from the Imperial Exchequer amounted to 13½ millions, and from local rates 11¾ millions, making a total of 25¼ millions spent on Education from the public purse.

While announcing these arrangements for the year 1907-8 Mr. Asquith also chronicled the very remarkable surplus of 5½ millions for the year 1906-7, being more than five millions in excess of the estimate. The whole of this sum passed over into the sinking fund which exists for paying off the national debt.

Examined from the point of view of social reform Mr. Asquith's budget must be regarded as thoroughly unsatisfactory. With an enormous unprecedented surplus from the preceding year and with excellent prospects of trade —with even a reduction of £2,000,000 provided by the Secretary for War— there was still nothing but promises and the talk of what would be done in the following year. The old Liberal principle of cutting down taxation had again been adopted instead of the new principle—which is of the essence of the new demand of the twentieth century—that the nation's financial wealth shall be expended on real national well-being.

Apart, however, from this vital question, all the changes in the budget must be regarded as in the right direction. The increase in the estate duties is thoroughly sound, and though slightly less drastic, corresponds pretty closely with the changes proposed by Keir Hardie in his article, "A Labour Budget," which appeared in the *Financial Review of Reviews* for April, 1906. With regard to incomes, Keir Hardie proposed a tax of 1s. on earned and 1s. 6d. on unearned incomes; Mr. Asquith has made it 9d. on earned and 1s. on unearned, thus adopting the principle of differentiation, but making it a means of lightening taxation instead of providing a fund for social reforms. Keir Hardie's further suggestion of a surtax upon big incomes still remains untouched. Again, Keir Hardie suggested that while keeping the navy estimates intact a reduction of two millions in the army estimates might be made. This has, as a matter of fact, been done, though in two years instead of in one as proposed.

Those who wish to see the details of national income and expenditure set out for the past ten years will find them on pages 66, 67. Those who are content with round figures (though not quite accurate) of the present state of affairs, will find them in the following rough summary easy to remember:—

Begin by putting on one side the receipts and expenditure on account of the

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post office—the great Government trading concern whose profits pay for one or two minor items of national expenditure—then the remainder reduces itself to an income of 120 millions and an expenditure of 120 millions. The income is made up of 30 millions from customs, 30 millions from excise, 30 millions from income tax, 30 millions, half from estate duty and half other things. The expenditure is 30 millions on the army, 30 millions on the navy, 30 millions paid on account of the national debt, 30 millions made up, half on education and half on other civil services. Thus three-quarters of the national revenue is devoted to wars past or preparations for wars to come, and only one-eighth to the education of the children of the nation.

TAXATION, 1st April, 1907—31st March, 1908.

		£	s.	d.
I.—CUSTOMS: Import Taxes:				
Coffee (dried)	Per lb.	0	0	2
Currants	cwt.	0	2	0
Figs, Raisins, &c.	,,	0	7	0
Sugar	,,	0	4	2
Tea	lb.	0	0	5
Tobacco (moist) stemmed	,,	0	3	0½
,, ,, unstemmed	,,	0	3	0
,, (dry) stemmed	,,	0	3	4½
,, ,, unstemmed	,,	0	3	4
Wines	various.			
Beer	barrel.	0	8	0
Spirits (proof)	gal.	0	11	4
Miscellaneous				
II.—EXCISE.				
Beer	barrel.	0	7	9
Spirits (proof)	gal.	0	11	0
III.—INCOME TAX.				
Below £160=	£100=	Nil.		
,, £400, earned (£160=exempt)	,,	0	0	9
,, ,, unearned ,, ,,	,,	0	1	0
,, £500, earned (£150=exempt)	,,	0	0	9
,, ,, unearned ,, ,,	,,	0	1	0
,, £600, earned (£120=exempt)	,,	0	0	9
,, ,, unearned ,, ,,	,,	0	1	0
,, £700, earned (£70=exempt)	,,	0	0	9
,, ,, unearned ,, ,,	,,	0	1	0
,, £2,000, earned	,,	0	0	9
,, ,, unearned	,,	0	1	0
Over £2,000, whether earned or unearned	,,	0	1	0
IV.—ESTATES, valued up to £500	£100=	1	0	0
,, ,, ,, £1,000	,,	2	0	0
,, ,, ,, £10,000	,,	3	0	0
,, ,, ,, £25,000	,,	4		0
,, ,, ,, £50,000	,,	4	10	0
,, ,, ,, £75,000	,,	5	0	0
,, ,, ,, £100,000	,,	5	10	0
,, ,, ,, £150,000	,,	6	0	0
,, ,, ,, £250,000	,,	7	0	0
,, ,, ,, £500,000	,,	8	0	0
,, ,, ,, £750,000	,,	9	0	0
,, ,, ,, £1,000,000	,,	10	0	0
ESTATES over £1,000,000:—				
On the first £1,000,000	,,	10	0	0
On the excess over £1,000,000—				
Up to £1,500,000	,,	11	0	0
,, £2,000,000	,,	12	0	0
,, £2,500,000	,,	13	0	0
,, £3,000,000	,,	14	0	0
Over £3,000,000	,,	15	0	0
V.—LEGACIES AND SUCCESSION DUTIES	various.			
VI.—STAMP DUTIES	various.			
VII.—HOUSE DUTY AND LAND TAX	various.			

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A.—INCOME.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
I. TAXES.	£	£	£	£	£
Customs	21,798,000	20,850,000	23,800,000	26,262,000	30,993,000
Excise	28,300,000	29,200,000	32,100,000	33,100,000	31,600,000
Estate Duties	11,100,000	11,400,000	14,020,000	12,980,000	14,200,000
Stamps	7,650,000	7,630,000	8,500,000	7,825,000	7,800,000
Land Tax & House Duty	2,450,000	2,370,000	2,460,000	2,475,000	2,500,000
Income Tax	17,250,000	18,000,000	18,750,000	26,920,000	34,800,000
TOTAL	**88,548,000**	**89,450,000**	**99,630,000**	**109,562,000**	**121,893,000**
II. TRADING RECEIPTS.					
Post Office	12,170,000	12,710,000	13,300,000	13,800,000	14,300,000
Telegraph Service	3,010,000	3,150,000	3,350,000	3,450,000	3,490,000
TOTAL	**15,180,000**	**15,860,000**	**16,650,000**	**17,250,000**	**17,790,000**
III. CROWN LANDS, Int. on Suez Canal Shrs, &c.	1,149,000	1,144,000	1,284,000	1,330,000	1,325,000
IV. MISCELLANEOUS	1,737,000	1,847,000	2,276,000	2,243,000	1,990,000
Grand Total	**106,614,000**	**108,301,000**	**119,840,000**	**130,385,000**	**142,998,000**
B.—EXPENDITURE.					
I. ORDINARY SERVICES.					
Army	19,330,000	20,000,000	20,600,000	24,473,000	29,312,000
Navy	20,850,000	24,068,000	26,000,000	29,520,000	31,030,000
Eductn. & Civil Services	21,560,000	22,025,000	22,530,000	23,500,000	23,900,000
Customs & Inland Rev.	2,745,000	2,816,000	2,800,000	2,834,000	2,955,000
National Debt Services	25,000,000	25,000,000	23,000,000	18,453,000	18,319,000
Reserve for O.A. Pensions	....	....	....	....	....
Other Consold. Fund Services	1,886,000	2,044,000	2,734,000	2,721,000	2,797,000
Interest on War Loans	....	....	217,000	1,383,000	3,367,000
Total	**91,371,000**	**95,953,000**	**97,881,000**	**102,884,000**	**111,680,000**
II. TRADING.					
Post Office	7,592,000	8,030,000	8,480,000	8,963,000	9,240,000
Telegraph Service	3,226,000	3,347,000	3,601,000	3,737,000	4,010,000
Packet Service	747,000	820,000	760,000	771,000	762,000
Total	**11,565,000**	**12,197,000**	**12,841,000**	**13,471,000**	**14,012,000**
III. SPECIAL	....	....	23,000,000 S.A. War.	67,237,000 (S.A. & China Wars	69,830,000
Grand Total	**102,936,000**	**108,150,000**	**133,722,000**	**183,592,000**	**195,522,000**

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1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908. Estimate.
£	£	£	£	£	£
34,433,000	33,850,000	35,730,000	34,475,000	32,930,000	31,740,000
32,100,000	31,550,000	30,750,000	30,230,000	30,350,000	30,600,000
13,870,000	13,000,000	12,350,000	12,970,000	14,400,000	14,200,000
8,200,000	7,500,000	7,700,000	8,180,000	7,950,000	8,000,000
2,550,000	2,650,000	2,750,000	2,670,000	2,600,000	2,600,000
38,800,000	30,800,000	31,250,000	31,350,000	31,600,000	30,500,000
129,933,000	**119,350,000**	**120,530,000**	**119,875,000**	**119,830,000**	**117,640,000**
14,750,000	15,450,000	16,100,000	16,880,000	17,170,000	17,600,000
3,630,000	3,700,000	3,830,000	4,130,000	4,255,000	4,400,000
18,380,000	**19,150,000**	**19,930,000**	**21,010,000**	**21,425,000**	**22,000,000**
1,413,000	1,443,000	1,484,000	1,579,000	1,618,000	1,600,000
1,826,000	1,603,000	1,426,000	1,514,000	1,941,000	1,550,000
151,552,000	**141,546,000**	**143,370,000**	**143,978,000**	**144,814,000**	**142,790,000**
29,440,000	29,500,000	29,225,000	28,850,000	27,765,000	27,760,000
31,170,000	34,457,000	36,830,000	33,300,000	31,434,000	31,419,000
25,350,000	26,561,000	27,450,000	28,430,000	29,118,000	30,307,000
3,040,000	3,113,000	3,093,000	3,148,000	3,179,000	3,258,000
23,000,000	27,000,000	27,000,000	28,025,000	28,500,000	28,000,000
....	....	....	....	....	1,500,000
2,789,000	2,919,000	2,765,000	2,781,000	2,836,000	2,845,000
4,282,000	....	....	....	....	....
119,071,000	**123,550,000**	**126,363,000**	**124,534,000**	**122,832,000**	**125,089,000**
9,630,000	10,068,000	10,198,000	10,630,000	....	....
4,162,000	4,549,000	4,660,000	4,648,000	....	....
771,000	787,000	735,000	700,000	....	....
14,563,000	**15,404,000**	**15,593,000**	**15,978,000**	**16,583,000**	**17,368,000**
50,850,000 & Somaliland	5,000,000 Expedition.)	500,000 (Somaliland.)	....	....	....
184,484,000	**143,954,000**	**141,956,000**	**140,512,000**	**139,415,000**	**142,457,000**

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POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1907.—J. N. Bell; J. R. Clynes, M.P.; J. Keir Hardie, M.P.; J. Hodge, M.P.; Edward R. Pease, W. C. Robinson; P. Snowden, M.P.; J. J. Stephenson; B. Turner; W. Walker. *Chairman:* W. Hudson, M.P. *Vice-Chairman:* P. Curran, M.P. *Treasurer:* A. Henderson, M.P. *Secretary:* J. R. MacDonald, M.P., 28, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

The growth of the Party, which was founded in 1900, can be seen in the following figures of membership:—

1900-1.	1902-3.	1904-5.	1905-6.	1906-7.
375,931	**861,150**	**900,000**	**921,280**	**998,338**

The membership for 1906-7 is made up as follows: Trade Unions, 975,182; Socialist Societies, 20,885; Co-operators, 2,271. In addition to this membership there are 83 Trades Councils and Labour Representation Committees affiliated.

There are now 31 M.P.'s, owing to the return of P. Curran for Jarrow on 4th July, 1907. Other elections in which the Party has taken a part since the General Election, are Cockermouth (3rd August, 1906), Huddersfield (19th November, 1906), North Belfast (17th April, 1907), and Kirkdale, Liverpool (27th September, 1907.)

The seventh annual Conference was held in Belfast on January 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1907, J. J. Stephenson presiding. There were 347 delegates in attendance.

The accounts showed that the general fund had received £2,767, expended £2,619; balance, £508. The Parliamentary fund, which commenced the year with a balance of £6,641, received £5,329 and expended £7,177, leaving a balance of £4,792.

One of the first resolutions of the Conference was the unanimous decision to increase the payments to the Parliamentary fund from 1d. per member to 2d. per member per annum.

A recommendation of the Executive that it be empowered to engage a Party election agent or agents was referred back to it until next year.

The Executive moved, that resolutions instructing the Party as to their actions in the House of Commons be taken as the opinion of the Conference on the understanding that the time and method of giving effect to these instructions be left to the Party in the House, in conjunction with the National Executive. After a lengthy and important discussion it was carried by 642,000 to 252,000. The Conference carried by acclamation the Executive's motion, that any temperance measure should give local option of (*a*) prohibition; (*b*) reduction of licenses; (*c*) public control of trade.

On the second day, an amendment to the constitution was moved to make Socialism the object of the Party. The Socialist representatives objected to

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this on the ground that it was unfair to force Socialism on the non-Socialist wing. The amendment was defeated by 835,000 to 98,000. A proposal to insist that Parliamentary candidates should be Trade Unionists was defeated by 553,000 to 381,000. Several other proposed amendments to the rules and constitution were defeated, including proposals to formulate a complete political programme. Resolutions were carried in favour of Old-Age Pensions, the Eight Hours' Day, and organisation of the Unemployed.

On the third day the Conference was asked to declare in favour of an immediate extension of the suffrage to women; but by 605,000 to 268,000 it rejected the resolution and accepted an amendment favouring adult suffrage, but opposing any measure extending the franchise "to a section only."

Resolutions were carried as to:—

Compulsory State Insurance; Factory Acts amendments; Radius agreements; Truck Acts; Sweating; State Provision for Blind; Legislation on Industrial Assurance; Wages of Government workers; Postal grievances; Sanatoria for consumptives.

W. Thorne's resolution on education, including secular education, was carried by 627,000 to 122,000. A resolution condemning Militarism was adopted without discussion.

On February 11th, the Parliamentary Party met in the House of Commons and re-elected J. Keir Hardie as Chairman, D. J. Shackleton as Vice-chairman, and J. R. MacDonald as Secretary. A. Henderson and G. H. Roberts were appointed Whips. The Party decided to ballot for (1) Miners' Eight Hours' Bill; (2) Provision of Meals (Scotland) Bill; (3) Compulsory Weighing Bill; (4) Sweated Industries' Bill.

The Party then appointed the following Committees: (1) Estimates; (2) Municipal; (3) Government Workers and Contracts; (4) Railway and Transit; (5) Education; (6) Army Bill.

The Bills balloted for (as above) were introduced by: (1) Walsh; (2) MacDonald; (3) Roberts; (4) Henderson. In July, MacDonald introduced (5) the Unemployed Bill. For the progress of these Bills in the House see the section entitled, "The Session of 1907" (pp. 47-67.)

The next Conference of the Party will be held in Hull, Monday, January 20th, to Wednesday, January 22nd, 1908.

LOCAL L.R.C.'s.

Aberdeen: J. McGilivray, 12, Regent's Quay, Aberdeen.
Accrington: W. Wareing, 11, Edgar St., Accrington.
Altrincham: & Dist.: W. Garside, Rose Villa, Manchester Rd., W. Timperley.
Armley and Wortley: F. Lofthouse, 23, Brooklyn Place, Armley, Leeds.
Aston Manor: F. Martin, 145, Victoria Road, Aston.
Ayrshire (North): H. Roxburgh, Dorrington St., Darvel, Ayrshire.
Barnard Castle: T. W. Dowson, 27, Grey St., Crook, R.S.O., Co. Durham.
Barrow-in-Furness: A. Peters, 80a, Cavendish St., Barrow-in-Furness.
Barry: John A. Kelly, 42, Woodland Rd., Barry, Glam.
Bellshill: F. McLauchlan, Mansefield, Bellshill.
Benwell: T. Rowland, 14, Oak St., Benwell, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Belfast: J. Murphy, Engineers' Hall, College St., Belfast.
Birkenhead: A. H. Evans, 70, Argyle St., Birkenhead.
Birmingham & Dist.: F. Hughes, Coleridge Chmbrs., Corporation St., B'ham.
Birmingham, East: H. T. Drinkwater, Park Side, Ward End, Birmingham.
Birmingham, West: W. J. Taylor, 13, Albert Rd., Handsworth.
Birmingham, Bordesley: H. R. Bromige, 206, Ladypool Rd., Sparkbrook
Birmingham, Small Heath: J. Pearson, 186, Arthur St., Small Heath, B'ham.
Blackburn: J. Frankland, 56, Dewhurst St., Blackburn.

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Bolton: R. Tootill, 77, St. George's Rd., Bolton.
Boothstown: R. Newton, 308, Chaddock Lane, Boothstown, nr. Manchester.
Bootle: C. Anders, 96, Ruskin St., Kirkdale, Liverpool.
Burnley: L. Rippon, 21, Morley St.. Burnley.
Cambridge: E. H. Bass, 46, Victoria Park, Cambridge.
Chadderton: R. Wrather, 98, Dalton St., Chadderton, Oldham.
Chatham: A. W. Tapp, 104, Windmill Road, Gillingham, Chatham.
Clitheroe: T. Shaw, Weavers' Office, Colne.
Clydebank: M. Neil, 232, Glasgow Rd., Clydebank, Glasgow.
Colne: S. Snell, 2, Green St., Colne.
Congleton: J. Mainwaring, 23, Nelson St., Congleton, Cheshire.
Coventry: E. J. Harris, 19, Windsor St., Coventry.
Crewe: J. E. Dideridge, 29, Stamford Avenue, Crewe.
Croydon: (see under **London**).
Darlington: A. Senior, 3, Branksome Terrace, Darlington.
Derby: W. Haywood, 16, Stanton St., Derby.
Devon, Mid: W. Vile, The Labour Hall, Devon Sq., Newton Abbott.
Dewsbury, Morley, & Spen Valley Ald. Ben Turner, Weavers' Office, Batley.
Durham, N.W.: J. E. Swan, Dipton, R.S.O., Co. Durham.
Eccles and Patricroft: H. Derbyshire, 68, Green La., Patricroft, Manchester.
Erith and Dist.: A. J. Scarlett, 221, Brook St., Belvedere, Kent.
Failsworth: R. E. Yarwood, 7, Thorn Bank, Ashton Rd. E., Failsworth, M'ter.
Farnworth: H. Knowles, 120, Campbell St., Farnworth, nr. Bolton.
Garston: T. Bevan, 20, Mona St., Garston, Liverpool.
Gateshead: J. Coats, 5a, Second St., Gateshead.
Gillingham: H. A. Pretty, 10, Virginia Rd., Gillingham, Kent.
Glasgow (Govan): D. Wardley, 20, Hutton Drive, Govan.
Glasgow (Partick): J. Barclay, 10, Byres Rd., Partick, N.B.
Gravesend and Northfleet: W. C. Proctor, 34, London Rd., Northfleet, Kent.
Greet: J. L. Palmer, 174, Osborne Rd., Sparkhill, Birmingham.
Grimsby: H. Empson, 29, Ainslie Rd., Grimsby.
Halifax: W. Smith, 57, New Bank, Halifax.
Handsworth (Staffs.): G. H. Jarrams, 159, Booth St., Handsworth.
Hartlepools: J. S. Stainsby, Beaumont Ter., Studley Rd., West Hartlepool.
Holbeck: W. J. Armstrong, 20, Princess Field Place, Holbeck, Leeds.
Hull: Watson Boyes, Foresters' Hall, Charlotte St., Hull.
Hyde: F. Bradley, 14, Fairbrother St., Hyde.
Ilkeston: G. Parr, 9, Gladstone st., Heanor.
Ince: W. Shaw, 22, King St., Wigan.
Jarrow: Councillor Barrow, 22, Salem St., Jarrow.
Keighley: W. Bland, 75, Spencer St., Keighley.
King's Lynn: T. A. Frost, London Rd., King's Lynn.
Leeds and Dist.: J. D. Macrae, 18, Hillary St., Leeds.
Leeds, South: A. Mattison, 7, Cambridge Terrace, Chapeltown Rd., Leeds.
Leeds, N.W.: F. Parsons, 5, Marian Rd.. Woodhouse, Leeds.
Leeds, West Hunslet: E. Murgatroyd, 88a, Beeston Rd., West Hunslet.
Leicester: G. E. Hubbard, 28, Dover St., Leicester.
Liverpool: A. W. Short, 8, Brook Rd., Bootle.
Liverpool, Kirkdale: W. J. Gerrard, 2, Tintern St., Kirkdale.
London, Croydon: D. Campbell, 103, Estcourt Rd., Woodside, S.E.
London, Deptford: R. Legg, 348, New Cross Rd., S.E.
London, Ealing: J. Willison, 19, Wolseley Rd., Chiswick.
London, Hammersmith: A. Batstone, 33, Mall Rd., Hammersmith, W.
London, Kensington: L. G. Paul, 39, Faraday Rd., N. Kensington, W.
London, Lewisham: C. E. F. Lewis, 21, Manwood Rd., Brockley, S.E.
London, Poplar: J. H. Banks, 6, Campbell Rd., Bromley-by-Bow, E.
London, St. Pancras: H. Flight, 22, Chester Rd., N.W.
London, S. Hackney: W. Parker, 76, Clifden Rd., Clapton Park, N.E.
London, West Ham: J. Gilbey, 10, Walpole Rd., Upton Park, Essex.
London, Willesden: F. Townhill, 19, Essex Rd., Willesden, N.W.

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London, Wood Green: J. R. Taylor, 202, Lymington Av., Wood Green, N.
London, Woolwich: W. Barefoot, 3, New Road, Woolwich.
Maidstone: W. Cripps, 19, Brewer St., Maidstone.
Macclesfield: J. Downes, Trades Hall, Chatham St., Macclesfield.
Manchester: J. Nuttall, J.P., 29, York St., Manchester.
Merthyr Tydfil: D. Davies, 5, Pant Cottages, Dowlais, South Wales.
Middlesbrough: F. M. Harding, 37, Coalville St., Middlesbrough.
Middleton: W. Leach, 4, Vale Cotts, Littleboro', near Manchester.
Motherwell: G. Ogilvie, Catherine Place, North Orchard St., Motherwell.
Nelson: G. Dewhurst, 110, Railway St., Nelson.
Newcastle-on-Tyne: J. W. Thwaites, 58, Brunel Ter., Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Newport (Mon.): E. A. Williams, 22, Usk St., Newport, Mon.
Newton Heath: J. Cunliffe, Cross St., Newton Heath, Manchester.
Newton-le-Willows: R. Critchley, 131. Wargrave Rd., Newton-le-Willows.
Normanton: A. Smith, 474, Castleford Rd., Normanton.
Norwich: W. R. Smith, 3a, Dove St., Norwich.
Nottingham: G. O. Richards, jun., 12. Carnarvon St., Nottingham.
Oldham: L. Caffrey, 31, Eden St., Oldham.
Portsmouth: J. G. Hogan, 27, Lucknow St., Portsmouth.
Preston: D. Metcalf, 66, Aqueduct St., Preston.
Reigate: J. Madden, North Rd., South Park, Reigate.
Rochdale: M. Ashworth, 17, Whitworth Rd., Rochdale.
Rossendale: J. Bateman, 10, Riley St., Bacup, Lancs.
Rotherham: E. W. Dawson, 46, Albany St., Rotherham.
St. Helens: P. Phythian, 93, Westfield St., St. Helens.
Sheffield: G. H. B. Ward, Park Farm, Cricket Rd., Sheffield.
Shipley: O. B. Raistrick, 10, Field St., Shipley, Yorks.
South Bank and Eston: J. Clinton, 44, Redcar Rd., South Bank, R.S.O.
Sowerby Bridge: J. Bates, 11, Dalton St., Sowerby Bridge.
Stockport: J. Bennett, 71, Ratcliffe St., Stockport.
Stockton-on-Tees: T. S. Self, 18, Suffolk St., Stockton-on-Tees.
Sunderland: J. Storey, 17, Westwood St., Sunderland.
Sutton: R. E. Dale, 20, Orchard Rd., Sutton, Surrey.
Swansea: H. Davies, 4, London Row, Cwmavon, Port Talbot.
Tow Law (Co. Durham): H. Gill, Thornley Rd., Tow Law, Co. Durham.
Tyneside: G. Curwen, Church Row, Throckley, Newburn.
Urmston: J. Williamson, 83, Ross Rd., Urmston, Lancs.
Wakefield: W. Finnigan, 1, West Parade, Wakefield.
Wallasey: Jas. Lunnon, 21, Russell Rd., Wallasey.
Walsall: J. Bevan, 25, Upper Walhouse Rd., Walsall.
Warrington: E. Horrocks, 3, Elaine St., Warrington.
West Bromwich: H. Thompson, 11, Temple St., West Bromwich.
West Ham: (see under **London**).
Westhoughton: F. C. Warburton, 6, Scholes Bank, Horwich, Lancs.
Wigan and Dist.: Jas. Cavey, 25, Kearsley St., Wigan.
Willesden: (see under **London**).
Wood Green: (see under **London**).
Worcester (North) and Stirchley: F. Hackett, Linden Rd., Bournville, B'ham.
Wrexham: G. Jones, 8, Poyser St., Wrexham.

Scottish Workers' Labour Party: *Secretary*, Geo. Carson, 156, George Street, Glasgow.

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THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

Executive Committee, 1907-8.—Sidney Ball, H. Granville Barker, Hubert Bland, F. Lawson Dodd, R. C. K. Ensor, L. Haden Guest, Stewart D. Headlam, S. G. Hobson, Miss B. L. Hutchins, F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Aylmer Maude, Miss M. B. Murby, Edward R. Pease, Mrs. Pember Reeves, W. S. Sanders, G. Bernard Shaw, Mrs. Bernard Shaw, George Standring, G. R. S. Taylor, Sidney Webb, H. G. Wells. *Sec*: E. R. Pease, 3 and 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

The year 1907, was one of unprecedented activity. The membership increased from 1,100 to 1,780. The women members increased from 250 to 450, and thus form over a quarter of the membership. Associates and Subscribers numbered 350.

The accounts for the year ended March 31st, 1907, showed: receipts £1,353 (compared with £954 in 1906), and expenditure £1,397 (compared with £995.)

Five new tracts had been issued and 20 existing tracts reprinted. During the 12 months no fewer than 82,500 tracts and 63,360 leaflets were sold and distributed, being more than in the two previous years together. Of "Fabian Essays," which has been selling now for eighteen years, 1,383 copies were sold. "This Misery of Boots," by H. G. Wells, was issued in a threepenny booklet during February, and the first edition of 5,000 exhausted a month later.

The L.C.C. elections, March, 1907, resulted in B. Cooper losing his seat. H. G. Chancellor and V. Fisher also failed to secure election. Sidney Webb, R. Bray, R. C. Phillimore, and W. Crooks held their seats. Frank Smith was also elected. With Alderman Sanders and Alderman Isaac Mitchell, elected until 1910, there were eight Fabians on the new Council.

The reorganisation of the Society was complete by March, when the long-deferred annual meeting for 1905-6 was held, and the elections for the enlarged Executive of 21 members took place.

Among other results of the reorganisation has been the grouping of members locally, and the formation of groups for the study and discussion of "Arts," "Biology," and "Education." The Arts group have had lectures by H. G. Wells, W. B. Yeats, A. E. R. Gill, A. R. Orage, Holbrook Jackson, and others.

The Fabian Summer School at Pen-yr-Allt, North Wales, was a great success, being full from its opening on July 27th, to its close, on September 14th; the courses of lectures touching on economics, poetry, the drama, biology, and social reconstruction.

Since the last issue of the *Reformers' Year Book* the lecturers have included A. Aladin (leader of the Labour Party in the 1906 Duma), Sydney Olivier, Sir John Gorst, Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Sidney Webb, the Rev. R. J. Campbell, S. G. Hobson, and Dr. Stanton Coit. The last four opened a course of lectures on "The Faith I Hold," and are to be followed by H. G. Wells and Hubert Bland.

The tracts issued in the same period are No. 129, "More Books to Read"; No. 130, "Home Work and Sweating," by Miss B. L. Hutchins; No. 131, "The Decline in the Birth Rate," by Sidney Webb; No. 132, "Guide to Books for Socialists"; No. 133, "Socialism and Christianity," by Percy Dearmer.

On April 30th, a dinner, attended by 135 members and friends, was given to Sydney Olivier to celebrate his appointment as Governor of Jamaica. Bernard Shaw presided.

On May 11th, Ben Cooper unsuccessfully contested Stepney Division as Liberal and Labour candidate, polling 1,350 votes against 2,299 for the Unionist.

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The local Fabian Societies are as follows: Brentwood, Brighton, Buckhurst Hill and Woodford, Burnley, Cambridge University, Canterbury, Darwen, Glasgow, Glasgow University, Leeds and County, Letchworth (Garden City), Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Oxford University Women, and Perth. The bulk of the members of these societies also belong to the London Society.

The following Metropolitan groups are wholly composed of London members: West Central, Paddington and Marylebone, Kensington, Croydon, Hampstead, Northern Heights, and East Middlesex. There are groups or societies partly composed of London Fabians at Forest Gate and Manor Park, Clapham, Finchley, and Caterham.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

Chairman: J. R. MacDonald, M.P.; *Council* (National Members): J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Philip Snowden, M.P., J. Bruce Glasier, and J. Parker, M.P.; (Divisional Members): H. Brockhouse, W. Field, J. Howard, Miss McMillan, W. Stewart, T. Russell Williams, and W. Wood; *Treasurer*: T. D. Benson. *Secretary*: Francis Johnson, 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.

When the results of the November, 1906, municipal elections came to be analysed it was found that the I.L.P. had lost ground in London, but more than counterbalanced that by gains in Scotland and the provinces. The net result was 67 gains and 65 losses. Total elected, 129. At the London County Council elections in March, 1907, there were nine I.L.P. candidates, who polled 23,819 votes. Two seats were lost at Woolwich and one gained at Lambeth. There are now over 800 names on the official list of I.L.P. members of local governing bodies.

During 1907 the I.L.P. has taken part in four Parliamentary contests in which the candidates were I.L.P. members, although only at Colne Valley was the I.L.P. primarily responsible for promoting the candidature. There were two wins—Jarrow and Colne Valley—and two defeats—Belfast North and Kirkdale.

The fifteenth annual Conference was held at Derby on April 1st and 2nd, 1907, when 223 delegates were present, representing 175 branches. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P. presided.

The report of the N.A.C. showed that during the year 1906-7 there was a net gain of 170 branches, bringing the total up to 545. The income of the Party from ordinary sources alone had nearly doubled, having increased from £1,861 to £3,625. In addition, the Hardie Jubilee Fund reached £2,428—the first £1,000 having been raised in 19 days—and thus the total income for the year was £6,064, an increase of £4,203 or 225 per cent. on the previous year. The balance of assets over liabilities showed £3,729 compared with £1,511.

The Publication Department's sales were £2,830 compared with £1,200 and £600 for the two previous years. The *Labour Leader* had doubled its circulation. The office staff had been doubled during the year, and the whole of the new premises, 23, Bride Lane, barely sufficed for the Party's central business.

The above figures refer to central funds and activities. If the purely local accounts of the branches were to be consolidated it would be found that the total annual income and expenditure of the Party is not less than £75,000.

The Conference agreed to give the Council power to appoint a considerable number of organisers under the new divisional grouping of branches

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The principal debate of the Conference took place on the question of Women's Franchise, the Conference declaring by 236 votes to 24 in favour of immediate extension of the suffrage to women on the same conditions as men.

A resolution in favour of "One Socialist Party" was lost, an amendment declaring for continued adhesion to the Labour Party coalition being carried by 200 to 12.

A supplement to the Council report cast considerable doubt upon the advisability of proposed attempts to fix a minimum wage, but the Conference after discussing the matter agreed with few dissentients to a declaration in favour of a legal minimum wage.

Resolutions were carried in favour of International Peace, Secular Education, addition of women and of working-men to the Jury Lists, and Government workshops; also against Military training.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

Executive.—London: H. M. Hyndman, H. Quelch, J. F. Green, F. Knee, J. Hunter Watts, J. G. Webster; Provincial: T. Kennedy, E. R. Hartley, Dan Irving, E. Lowthian, W. Gee, T. Lewis; *Treasurer*, J. F. Green; *Secretary*, H. W. Lee, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.

The S.D.F. is in a stronger position to-day than it has occupied before. During the year 1906-7 the number of new branches formed and existing Socialist Societies affiliated rose to 56, compared with 46, 27, 20, and 18 in the four previous years. The new branches included one in Ladysmith, Natal, making the third branch opened in South Africa.

The Women's Committee report that they have completed a successful year's work. They have seven circles in existence, one in London and six in the provinces.

The Education Committee, appointed at Easter, 1906, carried on splendid work during 1907, holding meetings and demonstrations in favour of State Maintenance and Secular Education in London and right through the country.

A ballot of members was taken as to the advisability of re-affiliation with the Labour Party, but the vote was decisively against re-affiliation. This does not prevent S.D.F. branches from working with local L.R.C.'s.

The S.D.F. took part during 1907 in fights for free speech in Plymouth, Rainham, Nelson, and Bath. At Plymouth, four members—Tamlyn, Parker, Edwards, and Marklew—suffered imprisonment, and the right of meeting was in the end established. At Nelson and Bath imprisonment of speakers failed in the end to suppress free speech.

The 27th Annual Conference was held at Carlisle on Good Friday, Saturday, and Easter Monday, March 29th to April 1st, 1907. There were 80 delegates representing 75 branches. The principal discussion of the Conference was on the question of Socialist Unity. Finally, by 45 votes to 41, a resolution was carried (*a*) expressing a strong desire for "the amalgamation in one party of all organisations and individuals willing to work on a definite democratic basis for the realisation of Socialism"; and (*b*) appointing a Committee to urge the necessity of unity, and to consider all suggestions and means for facilitating the advent of one Socialist Party. A proposal that branches of the S.D.F. should not be allowed to join local L.R.C.'s was lost by 52 votes to 36. Open discussions took place on the Provision of Meals Act, Parliamentarism and the General Strike, and the Prospects of an Industrial Crisis. Resolutions were carried on Public Works for the Unemployed, Open-air Sanatoria for Consumptives, International Labour Legislation and Adult Suffrage.

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A list furnished to the Conference showed that at that time (Easter, 1907) there were 124 members of the S.D.F. on public bodies in the United Kingdom, in addition to W. Thorne, M.P., and C. H. Haggar, S.D.F. member of Natal Assembly.

The income and expenditure of the central office was £2,337, and the total income and expenditure of branches and centre together, about £15,500. The Twentieth Century Press did a trade of £7,000, and the Pioneer Boot Works £3,000.

Parliamentary candidates have been selected for Accrington, Bradford, E., Burnley, Carlisle, Bristol, S., Aberdeen, N., Northampton, Ashton-under-Lyne, and Haggerston.

LONDON REFORM UNION.

OFFICERS (1907):—*President*, Earl Beauchamp; *Chairman of Executive*, F. W. Maude, J.P.; *Treasurer*, Right Hon. Sydney Buxton, M.P.; *Secretary*, F. W. Galton, Trafalgar Buildings, Charing Cross, W.C.

The objects of the Union are:—

To encourage good citizenship among all who live or work in London, and to promote united action in furtherence of social reform and better Municipal government.
To secure the adoption of Progressive principles by all Municipal bodies in and around London.
To reform the present system of local taxation, the City Corporation and its funds, the police, and the markets.
To improve the adminis ration of the river, docks, and Port of London, the means of transit and lighting, and the Poor Law.
To promote a just policy for labour, better housing and sanitation, a Municipal temperance policy, and the complete organisation of all branches of education.

The most responsible work of the Union during the past twelve months was in connection with the County Council elections. Educational propaganda is being undertaken with increased energy with a view to the reversal of the verdict two years hence.

Among other matters in which the Union was active are (1) The question of the election of women on local authorities, as to which the Union successfully co-operated with the Women's Local Government Society; (2) Depots for the sale of pure and sterilised milk for infants, the Bill as to which did not get beyond the Grand Committee; (3) Railway train overcrowding, the Bill as to which only reached a first reading.

An invitation to the 1,800 clergy and ministers of London to observe Citizen Sunday on October 27th received a response from over 400.

RADICAL ORGANISATIONS.

THE COBDEN CLUB.

Chairman: Lord Welby. *Treasurer:* Russell Rea, M.P. *Secretary:* J. A. Murray Macdonald, M.P. *Offices:* Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.

THE Cobden Club was founded in 1866 by T. B. Potter to promote Free Trade, Peace and Goodwill among Nations. Its main object is to promote those economic and political principles with which Cobden's name is associated.

LEAGUE OF YOUNG LIBERALS.

President: Lewis Harcourt, M.P. *Chairman:* C. F. G. Masterman, M.P. *Hon. Treas.:* F. W. Loxton. *Hon. Sec.:* J. Aubrey Rees. *Head-quarters:* New Reform Club, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.

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METROPOLITAN RADICAL FEDERATION.

Chairman : James Jeffrey, L.C.C. *Vice-Chairman :* W. J. Ramsey. *Hon. Sec. :* E. Garrity, Accrington House, 4, Hall Street, City Rd., E.C.

Object.—The federation for common political ends of all bona-fide Radical organisations of the Metropolis.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE.

President : C. J. O'Donnell, M.P. *Chairman :* John Ward, M.P. *Hon. Sec.* J. E. Dobson. *Hon. Org. Sec. :* H. Sheridan-Bickers. *Head Office :* 57 and 58, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

Objects.—The motto of the League is "Government of the People, by the People, for the People," and its objects are: (1) Adult Suffrage; (2) Automatic Registration with a three months' qualification; (3) One Voter One Vote; (4) Official Expenses of Elections to be defrayed from State Funds; (5) Second Ballot; (6) Payment of Members; (7) Extinction of the Hereditary Principle in the Legislature.

NATIONAL REFORM UNION.

President : Lord Weardale (Philip Stanhope). *Sec. :* Arthur G. Symonds. *The Offices are at* 50, HAWORTH'S BUILDINGS, CROSS STREET, MANCHESTER. *London Office :* 50, Parliament Street, S.W.

FOUNDED in 1863 by members of the Anti-Corn Law League. Object: The support of Liberalism, which it carries out by issuing pamphlets, books, and other literature.

NEW REFORM CLUB POLITICAL COMMITTEE.

President : Lord Weardale. *Chairman :* J. A. Hobson. *Hon. Treas. :* F. W. Pethick Lawrence. *Secretary :* Holford Knight, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.

CARRIES on active propaganda by meetings, lectures, and literature. It has been especially active in opposition to Chinese Labour, the Zulu war in Natal, unconstitutionalism in India, and Jingoism. Supports Secular Education and Women's Suffrage.

YOUNG BRITISH LIBERALS' FEDERATION.

President : Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd-George, M.P. *Chairman :* A. A. Edwards. *Hon Sec. :* Ernest P. Ray. *Central Office :* 326, Newtown Row, Birmingham.

Object.—The Charter of the Federation declares that its chief object is to interest young men in the good government of their city and of their country.

YOUNG SCOTS' SOCIETY.

Hon. President : John W. Gulland, M.P. *Hon. Sec. and Treas. :* John M. Crosthwaite, 237, W. George Street, Glasgow.

Object.—Started in November, 1900, at Edinburgh, with the object of increasing interest in Liberal and Progressive politics in Scotland; to encourage the study of history, social and industrial science and economics.

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OFFICIAL LIBERAL ORGANISATIONS.

Liberal Central Association.

Chairman of Committee: George Whiteley, M.P.; *Hon. Secretary:* SIR ROBERT HUDSON; *Offices:* 41, PARLIAMENT STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Liberal Publication Department.

Chairman: R. C. LEHMANN, M.P.; *Secretary:* CHARLES GEAKE, 42, PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.

National Liberal Federation.

President: RT. HON. A. H. D. ACLAND; *Treasurer:* ROBERT BIRD; *Secretary:* SIR ROBERT HUDSON; *Offices:* 42, PARLIAMENT STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Home Counties Liberal Federation.

(The Home Counties Division of the National Liberal Federation.)

President: EARL CARRINGTON, K.G.; *Chairman of Executive Committee:* G. LEVESON-GOWER. *Secretary:* W. M. CROOK. *Offices:* 42, PARLIAMENT STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

London Liberal Federation.

President: SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, G.C.B., M.P.; *Treasurer:* SIR SAMUEL MONTAGU, BART.; *Chairman:* W. H. DICKINSON, L.C.C.; *Hon. Secretary:* CORRIE GRANT, K.C., M.P.; *Offices:* 41, PARLIAMENT STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Scottish Liberal Association.

President: RT. HON. SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN; *Chairman of Council:* GEO. GREEN, J.P., C.C. *Hon. Treas.:* THE MASTER OF ELIBANK, M.P.

EASTERN SECTION.—*Secretary:* A. D. WOOD; *Offices:* 95, PRINCES STREET, EDINBURGH. WESTERN SECTION.—*Secretary:* WM. WEBSTER; *Offices:* 7, WEST GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW.

Welsh National Liberal Council.

President: D. LLOYD-GEORGE, M.P.; *Treasurer:* C. E. BREESE; *Chairman of Executive:* ALD. E. THOMAS, J.P.; *Secretary:* WALTER H. HUGHES; *Offices:* 20, CRANE STREET, PONTYPOOL.

Women's Liberal Federation.

President: THE COUNTESS OF CARLISLE; *Hon. Secretaries:* LADY BAMFORD SLACK and MRS. BROADLEY REID; *Secretary:* MISS MARGARET BUNNEY; *Offices:* 124, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Women's National Liberal Association.

Chairman of Executive: MRS. BYLES; *Treasurer:* MISS MONCK; *Secretary:* MISS E. E. PAGE. *Offices:* 138, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Scottish Women's Liberal Federation.

President: THE LADY MARJORIE SINCLAIR; *Hon. Secretaries:* MISS M. CUNNINGHAM (Eastern) and MRS. SWANN (Western); *Hon. Treasurer:* MRS. GILBERT BEITH; *Secretary:* MISS ALICE YOUNGER; *Offices:* 7, WEST GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW.

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Eighty Club.

President: Rt. Hon. the Marquis of Ripon, K.G.; *Treasurer:* J. C. Swinburneham; *Secretary:* R. C. Hawkin; *Offices:* 3, Hare Court, Temple, London, E.C.

National Liberal Club.

President: Earl Carrington, K.G. G.C.M.G.; *Chairman of Political Committee:* Richard Stapley; *Secretary:* Donald Murray; *Address:* Whitehall Place, S.W.

Liberal Social Council.

President: The Countess of Crewe; *Hon. Secretary:* Mrs. Sydney Buxton; *Secretary:* Miss M. M. Wills; *Office,* 92, Victoria Street, S.W.

OFFICIAL UNIONIST ORGANISATIONS.

Association of Conservative Clubs.

Secretary: Frank Solbe; *Offices:* St. Stephen's Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

Central Conservative Offices.

Principal Agent: Percival Hughes; *Secretary:* C. G. Hennings; *Offices:* St. Stephen's Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

National Conservative League.

Grand Secretary: F. H. Relton; *Offices:* 9, Broughton Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey.

National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations.

Secretary: Thomas Cox; *Offices:* St. Stephen's Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

National Union of Conservative Associations for Scotland.

Secretary: George Brown, Castle Street, Edinburgh.

Primrose League.

Clerk: Reginald Bennett; *Offices:* 64, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W.

Liberal Unionist Council.

Secretary: John Boraston; *Offices:* 6, St. George St., Westminster, S.W.

TARIFF REFORM ORGANISATIONS.

The Tariff Reform League.

Secretary: T. W. A. Bagley; *Office:* 7, Victoria Street, Westminster.

The Women's Unionist and Tariff Reform Association.

Secretary: Miss Violet Brooke-Hunt; *Office:* 19, Hanover Square, W.

Trades Unionist Tariff Reform Association.

Secretary: Ald. G. K. Naylor, L.C.C.; *Office:* 57, Chancery Lane, W.C.

The Tariff Commission.

Secretary: W. A. S. Hewins, M.A.; *Office:* 7, Victoria Street, Westminster.

Imperial Tariff Committee.

Secretary: C. A. Vince, M.A.; *Office:* 39, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

DURING the 12 months which ended with the autumn of 1907 there were no striking developments in the activities of Municipal authorities, although they received a notable addition to their powers in respect to the provision of meals for underfed school children.

The event most interesting to students of Municipal affairs was the extent to which general theories and principles of Local Government were discussed in the Press and upon platforms. This was particularly the case in London, the discussions aroused by the Borough Council elections of November, 1906 (see *Reformers' Year Book*, 1907), being carried on until the County Council elections, March, 1907, and since that time by the lectures and literature of the London Reform Union (Progressive), the London Municipal Society (Moderate), and the British Constitutional Association (Anti-Socialist).

Hitherto, it had been exceedingly difficult to get any Municipal question settled upon first principles. It has, indeed, been difficult enough to get any considerable number of persons interested at all in the government of their towns and districts. Except for a small and enthusiastic minority any true communal spirit has been almost non-existent. Fortunately, in face of the apathy of the majority, an active, intelligent minority were able not only to influence the elections, but also to exercise much useful direct influence upon the Councils, or when the Councils took a reactionary attitude upon some particular question to rouse a public agitation sufficient to compel the abandonment of such attitude.

Meanwhile, whatever might be done *ad hoc*, it was very difficult to arouse public interest in general principles of Local Government. Conservative individualists continued to vote for Conservative municipalisers, Liberal municipalisers voted for Liberal individualists, and vice versa; whilst the majority of Municipal voters were usually absent from the poll.

With the anti-Socialist campaign which arose after the General Election came a striking change. Just as Mr. Chamberlain s Protectionist campaign had led the English people to discuss the economics of trade and industry—which it was supposed nothing would ever induce them to do—so the campaign of the company and contracting interests has led our burgesses not only to discuss the question of Local Government but actually to discuss the abstract theories of Socialism and Individualism.

This is all to the good. Not until the principles of Municipal administration have been threshed out shall we get the widespread communal spirit necessary to the vigorous reform both of Local Government areas, machinery, and methods.

These are crying needs, for the areas are usually too small and often without reference to the political geography of districts, the machinery of administration is complicated by the existence of conflicting authorities, and the methods recall too strongly the days when parochial work was reluctantly undertaken only because something of that kind was a necessary evil.

For more detailed consideration of these questions, see articles on Poor Law Reform and on Municipal Trading.

The multiplicity and confusion of public bodies has grown up because of the absence of any clear, unifying conception of the sphere of Local Government.

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Our Local Authorities.

The following table shows the principal local authorities by which the kingdom is governed:—

	Counties.	London Boroughs.	County Boroughs.	Other Cities and Towns.	Urban District Councils.	Rural District Councils.	Poor Law Guardians.	Total.
England and Wales..	62	28	72	254	815	670	654 (*a*)	2,555
Scotland	33	—	—	203	—	99	874 (*b*)	1,209
Ireland	33	—	—	11	81	214	159 (*a*)	498
	128	28	72	468	896	983	1,687	4,262

(*a*) These are the numbers of the Poor Law Unions in England and Ireland.
(*b*) These are the "Parish Councils," which in Scotland are the Poor Law Boards.
There are also nearly 7,000 English Parish Councils.
The Joint Boards for Water, Gas, Asylums, Rivers, Docks, &c., are not included, as they are made up largely of representatives from the authorities already given above, but in effect they are independent bodies, as witness the Metropolitan Water Board. There are also Distress Committees—commonly called Unemployed Committees—in towns and districts of 50,000 population and upwards.

In just the same way Municipal law and practice has grown up by a process of cobbling and patching.

The Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, which repealed, re enacted, or consolidated all previous Municipal Acts, is an excellently-drafted legal document, but not what is wanted—a Municipal Code. Nor is this spirit much more apparent in the later Acts of 1888, 1889, and 1894, bringing into existence the County, District, and Parish Councils. So far as there is any true Code of Local Government it is buried in the Public Health and Education Acts.

There is a constant shifting in the patchwork of authorities. A Rural Council becomes Urban, or an Urban Council, after much agitation and expenditure, obtains a charter of incorporation, or, on the other hand, is swallowed up by a neighbouring city, also a lengthy and expensive process.

All Boroughs with over 50,000 inhabitants, and those with over 20,000 which already had county powers, are, or may be, County Boroughs. Some of these have their own assizes and some not. Many have their own Quarter Sessions, Recorders, Clerks of Peace, and Coroners; some have no Quarter Sessions, but have their own Commission of the Peace. Most of them have their own police.

All County Boroughs have authority over both their elementary and secondary education. All other towns control their own secondary education; but, as a rule, those with less than 10,000 population do not control elementary education.

The principal powers of towns and urban councils are under the Public Health Acts, the excuse for a public body exercising itself vigorously being that it is an essential "sanitary" measure. Under this heading come, of course, powers of drainage, sewerage, refuse collection, cleaning and watering of streets, public water supply, inspection of houses and of foods, treatment of diseases, hospitals, mortuaries, cemeteries, baths, and washhouses. Also making or control of new streets and buildings, street lighting, libraries, parks, housing, gas, electricity, tramways, and allotments.

As a consequence of all this confused law and practice, and complicated machinery, Local Taxation has become an enigma, difficult of solution even by practised accountants. Moneys are passed from one account to the other,

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raised by one authority and handed to another, transferred from Imperial funds to local or local to Imperial, until in some cases the amounts cannot be traced to any destination. Any statement, therefore, of Municipal expenditure can only be taken as approximately correct.

Cost of Local Government.

Irish finance, which badly needs revision, stands on an exceptional footing. So far as can be ascertained, the total receipts and expenditure of local governing bodies in England, Wales, and Scotland amounted to £164,000,000, of which £38,000,000 was received from loans for capital expenditure. The revenue from other sources for purpose of current expenditure was about £126,000,000 raised as follows:—

Local Government Current Revenues—Great Britain.

Rates.	Government Contributions.	Gas, Water Electricity, and Trams. net receipts.*	Rents and Interest on other property.	Fees, Fines, Tolls, &c.	Recovered for Improvements.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
£ Millions. 63½	£ Millions. 19	£ Millions. 24	£ Millions. 4	£ Millions. 7½	£ Millions. 2	£ Millions. 6	£ Millions. 126
50%	15%	30%				5%	100%

* After deducting working expenses from gross receipts, that is to say, the trading profit from which interest, etc., has to be paid.

Expenditure.

Of these revenues, £20,000,000, or nearly 16 per cent., goes to Poor Law Expenditure; £19,000,000, or 15 per cent., to Education; and £87,000,000, or nearly 70 per cent., to all other services, such as police, town improvements, sanitation, asylums, hospitals, harbours, &c.

LONDON.

The administrative County of London measures 16 miles in its extreme length from east to west, and 12 miles in its extreme breadth from north to south, and including the City, covers 74,893 acres or 116 square miles. The population in 1901 was 4,536,541. It is now 4,758,217.

The larger London of the Metropolitan Water Board has an area of 620 square miles, and a population of over six millions.

Greater London, in which term is embraced all urban areas contiguous to the Metropolis, has a population of 7,217,939, compared with 6,606,163 in 1901.

London's Government.

The county is governed by the County Council, the Common Council of the City, and 28 Metropolitan Boroughs. The police are administered by a Home Office Commissioner; the water by the Metropolitan Water Board, comprising representatives of County, Borough, and District Councils; and the Poor Law by 31 Boards of Guardians. The Metropolitan Asylums Board is appointed in part by the Local Government Board and in part by the Boards of Guardians. The Thames and Lee are in the hands of Conservancies on which the County and Local Authorities are represented. The City area, in addition to the Common Council, has 112 vestries and 114 Boards of Overseers.

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The total cost of governing London is some £23,000,000, shown in round numbers as follows:—

L.C.C. (Including Education.)	City Corporat'n.	Boro' Councils.	Poor Law.	Police.	Asylums Board.	Total.
£ millions. 9	£ millions. 1½	£ millions. 5½	£ millions. 4	£ millions. 2	£ millions. 1	£ millions. 23

The 29 municipal areas correspond to 58 County Divisions, the City sending four and the others two members each to the Council. The 118 elected councillors select 19 aldermen—equal to a sixth of their number—who sit for six years, one-half retiring at each election.

The Council has all the powers of a county, some of the powers of a County Borough, and certain executive powers especially applicable to London. It has 14 representatives on the Metropolitan Water Board, six on the Thames Conservancy, and two on the Lee Conservancy; also two on the Senate of the London University, and one representative on all the important London Charities. The Joint Standing Committee of Quarter Sessions consists of nine Justices and nine members of the Council.

Its expenditure is some £9,000,000, of which £4,500,000—or one-half—is for Education.

Of its whole income £6,500,000 is raised by rates, £2,000,000 is received from Government grants, and £1,000,000 from rents, interest, fees, fines, tolls, and profits of undertakings.

For 1906-7 the rate was 36d. in the £, one-half for Education and one-half for County and other special purposes.

London's Tramways.

Returns presented to the County Council on October 15th, 1907, show that London's tramways are over 116 street miles in length.

The following further facts are extracted from the returns:—

Capital Expenditure up to 1905-6.	Capital Expenditure in 1906-7.	Total Capital Expenditure.	Passengers Carried.		Total.
			Electric.	Horse.	
£4,882,000	£2,064,000	£6,946,000	Millions. 183	Millions. 131	Millions. 314

Of the passengers carried, 20·12 per cent. were carried at ½d. fares. The average fare was 1·05d.

Working of Electric Lines.

Receipts 1906-7.			Receipts in 1905-6.	Expenses 1906-7.			Expenses in 1905-6.
Traffic.	Advts.	Total.		Power.	Other Working Expenses.	Total Working Expenses.	
Per Car Mile. 11·95d.	Per Car Mile. 0·28d.	Per Car Mile. 12·23d.	Per Car Mile. 12·37d.	Per Car Mile. 1·37d.	Per Car Mile. 5·69d.	Per Car Mile. 7·06d.	Per Car Mile. 8·04d.

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The receipts from the whole system were lower than had been estimated owing to difficulties which prolonged the work of reconstruction. The effect was to delay the existing horse traffic and render it non-remunerative.

The financial results of the working of the entire system were :—

	Receipts.	Expenditure.	Balance.
	£	£	£
Electric	829,258	478,418	350,839 surplus.
Horse	585,345	596,697	11,352 deficit.
	£1,414,603	£1,075,115	£339,487 net surplus.

After deducting interest and sinking fund, income-tax, Parliamentary expenses, and all other charges, there was a net balance of £9,675.

A Striking Comparison.

The *Municipal Journal*, October 25th, 1907, stated the L.C.C. tramways, whilst giving the lowest fare in London, showed the highest return on capital. The 12 principal private carrying companies showed an average fare of 1·50d. and an average dividend of 2 per cent. The three most prosperous of these were the Metropolitan Electric Tramways, London United Tramways, and North London Railway. The comparison with the L.C.C. tramways is as follows :—

	L.C.C.	Metro. Electric Trams.	London United Trams.	North London Railway.	Average 12 Companies.
Average Fare (pence).. ..	1·05	1·18	1·37	1·46	1·50
Return on Capital (per c'nt.)	5·45	3·56	3·96	5·03	2·00

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

LIST OF ALDERMEN AND COUNCILLORS.

(M.) Moderate. (P.) Progressive. (P.L.) Prog. Labour. (I.Lab.) Independent Labour. (Ind.) Independent.

ALDERMEN (19).

Anstruther, H. T. (M.)
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. J. (M.)
Buxton, A. F. (M.)
Caillard, Sir V. (M.)
Cooper, Ben (P.L.)
Fisher, Hayes (M.)
Michelham, Lord (M.)
Mowatt, Sir F. (P.)
Mullins, W. E. (P.)
Naylor, G. K. (M.)
Sanders, W. S. (I.Lab.)
Sandhurst. Lord (P.)
Scott-Lidgett, Rev. J. (P.)
Shepheard, A. J. (P.)
Swinton, Capt. (M.)
Thompson, W. W. (M.)
Ward, Henry (P.)
White, E. (M.)
Wood, T. McKinnon, M.P. (P.)

COUNCILLORS (118).

Battersea:
W. Davies (P.), A. S. Benn (M.).

Bermondsey:
A. Salter (P.), A. A. Allen, M.P. (P.).

Bethnal Green, N.E.:
Sir E. A. Cornwall (P.), E. Smith (P.).

Bethnal Green, S.W.:
Rev. S. Headlam (P.), P. A. Harris (P.).

Bow and Bromley:
W. S. M. Knight (M.), H. B. Rowe (M.).

Brixton:
S. J. G. Hoare (M.), W. Haydon (M.).

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Camberwell, N.:
R. Bray (P.), H. R. Taylor (P.L.).

Chelsea:
T. C. E. Goff (M.), R. C. Norman (M.).

City of London:
Ald. F. S. Hanson (M.), N. L. Cohen (M.).
W. H. Pownell (M.), H. S. Sankey (M.).

Clapham:
J. W. Domoney (M.), Sir C. J. Cooke (M.).

Deptford:
S. Webb (P.), R. C. Phillimore (P.).

Dulwich:
H. C. Gooch (M.), F. Hall (M.).

Finsbury, C.:
Capt. Hon. F. Hemphill (P.), A. B. Russell (P.).

Finsbury, E.:
Col. A. C. Welby (M.), E. Howes (M.).

Fulham:
C. Cobb (M.), E. J. Easton (M.).

Greenwich:
J. H. Benn (M.), Lord A. J. Thynne (M.).

Hackney, C.:
W. B. Stewart (M.), G. Billings (M.).

Hackney, N.:
W. H. Key (M.), W. R. Greene (M.).

Hackney, S.:
T. Chapman (P.), W. A. Casson (P.).

Haggerston:
Hon. R. Guinness (M.), Hon. G. Johnstone (M.).

Hammersmith:
J. Brandon (M.), E. Collins (M.).

Hampstead:
J. T. Taylor (M.), W. Reynolds (M.).

Holborn:
E. E. Wild (M.), Hon. H. Lygon (M.).

Hoxton:
Dr. J. Davies (M.), E. Gray (M.).

Islington, E.:
C. A. M. Barlow (M.), F. E. Pilditch (M.).

Islington, N.:
F. L. Dove (M.), C. K. Murchison (M.).

Islington, S.:
G. Dew (P.L.), H. J. Williams (P.).

Islington, W.:
I. Salmon (M.), H. J. Clarke (M.).

Kennington:
Sir J. W. Benn, M.P. (P.), Rev. E. Denny (P.).

Kensington, N.:
D. Davis (M.), Maj. C. L. Skinner (M.).

Kensington, S.:
A. R. Robinson (M.), Dr. E. B. Forman (M).

Lambeth, N.:
F. Briant (P.), F. Smith (I.Lab.).

Lewisham:
Lord Lewisham (M.), A. Pownall (M.).

Limehouse:
C. Jackson (M.), J. L. Williams (M.).

Marylebone, W.:
Lord Bentinck (M.), Earl of Kerry (M.).

Marylebone, E.:
Lord Duncannon (M.), J. Boyton (M.).

Mile End:
R. H. Montgomery (M.), E. H. Coumbe (M.).

Newington, W.:
E. Spicer (P.), J. D. Gilbert (P.).

Norwood:
C. A. Fisher (M.), F. St. J. Morrow (M.).

Paddington, N.:
Hon. W. Guinness (M.), J. H. Hunter (M.).

Paddington, S.:
Sir R. M. Beachcroft (M.), H. P. Harris (M).

Peckham:
T. Gautrey (P.), W. L. Dowton (M.).

Poplar:
W. Crooks, M.P. (P.L.), Sir J. McDougall (P.).

Rotherhithe:
A. Pomeroy (P.), H. J. Glanville (P.).

St. George's-in-the-East.
H. Gosling (P.L.), P. C. C. Simmonds (M.).

St. George's (Hanover Square):
Lord Cheylesmore (M.), H. J. Greenwood (M.).

St. Pancras, E.:
A. W. Claremont (P.), Rev. F. Hastings (P.).

St. Pancras, N.:
D. S. Waterlow (P.), Dr. Beaton (P.).

St. Pancras, S.:
G. Alexander (M.), F. Goldsmith (M.).

St. Pancras, W.:
P. Vosper (M.), F. Cassel (M.).

Southwark, W.:
T. Hunter (P.), A. Wilson (P.).

Stepney:
A. O. Goodrich (M.), F. L. Harris (M.).

Strand:
Lt.-Col. Probyn (M.), Lord Elcho (M.).

Walworth:
J. A. Dawes (P.), C. Jesson (P.L.).

Wandsworth:
Sir W. Lancaster (M.), W. Hunt (M.).

Westminster:
Hon. W. R. Peel (M.), C. Y. Sturge (M.).

Whitechapel:
W. C. Johnson (P.), H. H. Gordon (I.).

Woolwich:
J. Squires (M.), E. A. H. Jay (M.).

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STORY OF THE ELECTIONS.

"There is nothing so holy that it cannot be violated, nothing so strong that it cannot be destroyed by money."—*Cicero.*

In March 1907, the seventh election of members of the London County Council resulted in the complete rout of the Progressive party, and the defeat of the majority of Socialist and Labour candidates. The elections of 1904 had resulted in a balance of 84 to 34; the elections of 1907 gave a balance of 79 to 39 the opposite way. A majority of 50 in favour of the Progressive municipal policy was converted into a reactionary majority of 40, increased by the subsequent Aldermanic appointments to a majority of 42 on the entire Council.

The following table shows the results of the seven elections since the L.C.C. came into existence. The majorities given are those of official Progressives over Moderates, or vice-versa, but in the division lobby the votes of the Independent Labour and Independent candidates are usually cast with the Progressives:—

	Prog.	Mod.	I. Lab.	Ind.	Majority, not including Ind. or I. Lab.
1889	73	45	—	--	**28** Prog over Mod.
1892	83	34	1	--	**49** ,, ,, ,,
1895	58	59	1	--	**1** Mod. over Prog.
1898	69	48	1	—	**21** Prog. over Mod.
1901	84	31	1	2	**53** ,, ,, ,,
1904	81	34	2	1	**47** ,, ,, ,,
1907	37	79	1	1	**42** Mod. over Prog.

The above were the majorities at the elections, but the working majority of the Council depends, of course, upon the balance of the Aldermanic bench, which in this and the previous Council was as follows:—

	Prog.	Mod.	Ind. Lab.
1904	10	6	3
1907	7	10	2

The Moderate Aldermen include one Trade Union member—Mr. G. King Naylor, President of the London Society of Electrotypers and Stereotypers.

The entire constitution of the two Councils compares, therefore, as follows:—

	Prog.	Mod.	I. Lab.	Ind.	Majority.
1904	92	39	5	1	**53** Prog. over Mod.
1907	44	89	3	1	**45** Mod. over Prog.

This change in the constitution of the Council was achieved, not by any reduction of the Progressive vote—which in fact increased—but by an enormous increase of the Moderate vote, due to the polling of classes hitherto indifferent to municipal politics. In this respect the election closely resembled the elections to the German Reichstag which had taken place a few weeks previously.

The following table shows the heavy increase in the total poll. It must be

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remembered that each elector has two votes, and in the City, four votes :—

	1904	1907	Increase.
Total Electorate	699,363	840,742	**141,379**
Electors who Polled	319,631	443,507	**123,876**
Percentage of Electorate ..	45·7	52·66	**6·96**
Total Votes Cast ..	612,571	869,392	**256,821**

The cross-voting makes a strict analysis as between all parties impossible, but reckoning all those opposed to the Moderates as being Progressives, the division of votes was as follows :—

	1904	1907	Increase.
Progressive Vote	337,304	360,301	**22,997**
Moderate Vote	275,267	509,091	**223,824**
Majority	**62,037 P.**	**148,790 M.**	—

The total poll for Independent Labour and Socialist candidates was 27,906. Nine I.L.P. candidates polled 23,819 votes, and nine S.D.F. candidates polled 4,087 votes. These candidates polled votes ranging from J. J. Stephenson (I.L.P.) 3,139, to J. Clarke (S.D.F.) 187; but the only success was that of Frank Smith (N. Lambeth) who won a seat from the Moderates. Both seats at Woolwich were lost, a Labour majority of 2,500 being converted to a Moderate majority of over 1,000.

The following is the list of contests fought by the 18 I.L.P. and S.D.F. candidates: Battersea, Humphreys (I.L.P. and S.D.F.); Bethnal Green, S.W., Harley (I.L.P.); Bow, Stokes and Watts (S.D.F.); Fulham, Stephenson (I.L.P.) and Wall (S.D.F.); Hackney Central, Fairchild and Fisher (S.D.F.) Hammersmith, Davidson and Westcott (I.L.P.); Kennington, Butler and Knee (S.D.F.); Lambeth, N., Smith (I.L.P.); Peckham, Kelly (I.L.P.); St. Pancras E., Horne (I.L.P.); Walworth, Clark (S.D.F.); Woolwich, Jones and Lansbury (I.L.P.)

The Independent Labour and Progressive Labour members of the Council sit together as a United Labour bench. All the Progressive Labour men are Liberals, except W. Crooks.

The Progressive Labour members lost the two seats rendered vacant by the retirement of John Burns and W. C. Steadman, and Ben Cooper also was defeated by a Moderate; but W. Crooks, G. Dew, H. Gosling, C. Jesson, and H. R. Taylor were re-elected. This gives a United "Labour Bench" of two aldermen and six councillors as against three aldermen and ten councillors in the previous Council.

The Fabian Society can claim six successes, viz., Messrs. Bray, Crooks, Headlam, Phillimore, Smith, and Webb, as against three defeats.

The principal cause of the Progressive and Socialist rout was the extraordinary campaign of misrepresentation and abuse carried on through the "yellow press," and by the lavish expenditure of money on posters, leaflets, lantern lectures, &c. The result of similar tactics in the Borough Council elections of 1906 inspired the ground landlords, transit companies, music-hall, liquor-selling, and betting interests, and contractors' ring to even greater efforts for the capture of the supreme Council. On the other hand, the return of so many county councillors

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to Parliament in 1906 had the double result both of making the Progressives too confident and causing the retirement of many of the strongest Progressive councillors.

The antagonism of the Women Suffragists towards the Liberal Government also led to the withdrawal of many active and capable women from election work, and also led to women voters polling against Progressives who were prominent Liberals. One Progressive councillor who was an opponent of Women's Suffrage attributed his defeat solely to the women's vote.

The antagonism between the Progressives and the Labour Party also caused the loss of some seats.

Undoubtedly, however, the main cause of the *débâcle* was the great attack upon the Socialistic policy of the Progressives. They had tried to carry out a Socialistic policy whilst repudiating Socialism, so that their supporters were shaken by the exposure, whilst classes of voters hitherto indifferent were led to believe that the Progressive success meant confiscation of property, rates at 19s. in the £, and Socialist tyranny.

The moral is obvious. If a Socialist policy is to be carried out, the people of London must first be educated in Socialist principles.

(A complete list of L.C.C. Councillors and Aldermen prior to the election in 1907, will be found in the *Reformers' Year Book* for 1907.)

MODERATES AT WORK.

"The millionaire in his parlour is the master of the situation."—*Ald. W. Hayes Fisher.*

The Moderates in power have had no easy course to steer. On the one hand it has been their desire to reduce rates at any cost. On the other hand, to deal fairly by the heterogeneous group of financial and commercial interests, whose money had carried them in, they would need to sacrifice some of the economies of communal action for the benefit of private enterprise.

These interests were not long in making their influence felt.

Placating the Financers.

Among the principal groups to be placated were the financiers and the electrical companies.

The former received early benefits. The new Council loan of five millions became the subject of negotiations, the details of which were never published. Alderman W. Hayes Fisher and Sir Vincent Caillard admitted that they went to the City and saw Lord Rothschild, but declined to say what took place. As a result, only one-half of the loan was offered to the public, the other half being privately placed, at a price which must have enabled certain financiers to make a clear £25,000 by this deal. The Finance Committee, however, declined to furnish any names or particulars.

Mangling the Electricity Bill.

As Parliament refused to sanction the cooked edition of the Council's Electricity Bill, it is not necessary to say much on that point. The Bill, which had been prepared as a result of urgent representations from a select Parliamentary Committee, affected an area of 451 square miles, including London and a large part of the home counties, proposing to serve a population of over 6½ millions. The Moderate majority turned it into a Bill for handing over the greater part of this vast area to private companies almost in perpetuity. Even the Moderate members on the Parliamentary Committee could not swallow this, and when the Bill was discussed by the Committee in July, they reported to the House that they held the preamble not proved. Hence the thousands of pounds

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spent on preparing and promoting the Bill have been wasted, and the urgent question of Metropolitan electrical supply is in as chaotic a condition as ever.

The Socialist Sunday Schools.

Immediately the elections were over the reactionary press had renewed the electioneering outcry against Socialist Sunday Schools being held in elementary schoolrooms. It was proposed at the Council that these tenancies should be forthwith terminated, but the Progressives opposed this, of course, and it was remitted to a Sub-committee of the Education Committee. On the report of this Sub-committee, three full-dress debates on Socialism took place on the Education Committee on May 1st, 8th, and 15th. The result of the debate was such a complete rout of the reactionary side, that the Education Committee decided to drop the proposal to terminate the tenancies. On this, the outcry of the Moderate press was so violent that the Moderate leaders on the Council had to take up the matter, although, apparently, with some reluctance. On June 11th, a resolution to close the schools against any use on Sunday for Socialist or other "political" teaching was briefly discussed, closured, and carried by 66 votes to 40.

Destroying the Works Department.

Meanwhile, another section of the Moderates' supporters had been demanding "value for their money." A large sewer contract—the northern low-level sewer scheme from Stepney to Charing Cross, worth about £300,000—was now available as a source of profit to contractors. *The Contractors' Chronicle*, March 20th, said: "This work, we believe, has not been begun, and the new Council must put its foot down and prevent a start being made with this and other schemes." That was to say, prevent the Works' Department from making a start. In the former year the department had saved £85,000 as against contractors' estimates, and Sir Melville Beachcroft had said: "The Works' Department is an excellent preservative against rings of contractors." Evidently, the contractors had taken his words to heart, and he now came forward to lead the attack upon the Works' Department. Since the Moderate victory the employees of the department had already been reduced from 3,500 to 2,600. Now a further step was taken to wrecking the department. The engineer's private estimate for the northern low-level work was published in order that the contractors might know at what price to tender—a most scandalous proceeding—and by 69 votes to 41 the work was taken away from the Works' Department, necessitating further discharges of men.

Trams and Steamboats.

Another section to be reckoned with were the traffic companies. In obedience to their wishes the Moderates abandoned the Strand station on the shallow Council tramway. This station was already being constructed at a spot where 500 omnibuses pass in an hour, and was expected to yield the largest volume of traffic on any of the Council's lines.

The attack on the steamboats was less successful. For one thing, the riverside boroughs sent large and influential petitions in favour of the service. Then some of the Moderates had never really been against the service; the use of the figures of loss on the traffic having been merely for election purposes. The leaders of the attack, too, were far from discreet. Mr. Hall said: "We on this side are not here to give pleasure and health-giving exercise to the people of London." The proposal to abandon the service fell through.

An attempt to reduce the wages—which not long before had been settled by the Arbitration Board of the Chamber of Commerce—was also defeated on April 30th. On May 16th, it was definitely decided to resum the service,

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although with increased fares. A good service was given until October, when Sunday boats were withdrawn, and the week-day service reduced to half-hourly boats.

The Censorship Farce.

An extraordinary action of the Moderate majority of the Education Committee was in overhauling the school books with a view to banishing anything "Socialistic" or of a "subversive" tendency, by which was meant anything dealing sympathetically with working-class life. As this involved the banishment of such books as Mrs. Gaskell's "Mary Barton," the Committee's action excited considerable ridicule.

No Meals for Children.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Moderates have refused to entertain the question of assisting to supply meals to underfed school children.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1907.

THE municipal elections in the provinces in November, 1907, were made the occasion of a vigorous anti-Municipal campaign, to which the Socialists replied by renewed activity and an increased number of candidates.

The programmes varied in some points according to districts, but the following are the main items upon which all I.LP. candidates went to the poll :—

1. Standard rate of wages for Corporation employees.
2. Insertion of the "Contracts Clause" in all contracts undertaken for the local bodies.
3. Better housing of the working classes.
4. Efficient administration of the Feeding of School Children Act and of the Unemployed Workmen Act.
5. Provision of a municipal coal supply.
6. Municipalisation of the milk supply; the local control of the sterilisation of infants' milk supply.

The majority of the candidates also advocated :—

Public control of the hospitals.
Municipal control of the liquor traffic.
Councils to organise such industries as they please, with power to acquire land compulsorily for such purposes.
The taxation of Land Values.

Women Candidates.

In a leaflet entitled "Why Women Candidates should be supported," the I.L.P. points out the following matters on which the advice of a woman would be desirable: (*a*) Sanitary houses. (*b*) Pure milk supply. (*c*) Open spaces for children. (*d*) Feeding of children. (*e*) Management of hospitals and asylums.

Social Democrats' Programme.

The programme issued by the Executive Council of the Social Democratic Federation contained the following principal items :—

The organisation of unemployed labour upon useful work.

The creation and development of Works Departments, so that all municipal work may be done without the intervention of contractors.

Eight-hours day and trade union rate of wages, or *a minimum of 30s. per week for all municipal workers.*

The erection of healthy dwellings for the workers, to be let at rents to cover cost of construction and maintenance alone.

Education to be free and secular, *with the State maintenance of school children.*

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On the question of "the rates," the S.D.F. manifesto said :—"We declare emphatically that the question of rates does not materially affect the majority, because the majority of the electors are not property-owners. As a whole, those of you who are workers and small shopkeepers need have no fear of a rise in the rates, providing that such rise means a healthier, better-drained, more beautiful city, better and cheaper gas, water, electricity, and means of transit."

The Contests.

In addition to the work of Liberal and Conservative party organisations in opposing one another, or jointly opposing Socialist candidates, the Primrose League and British Constitutional Association carried on a widespread anti-Socialist propaganda in which vans, lantern lectures, and gramaphones played a considerable part.

The results were similar to those in 1906. So far as the combined attack on the Socialist and Labour position succeeded, it was counterbalanced by successes in the Socialist attack on the other parties. About 100 retiring Socialist and Labour Councillors stood for re-election, together with over 300 other candidates. Of the former, 55 were returned and 45 defeated. Of the latter over 50 were returned and some 250 failed. Thus the net result was: Seats vacated, 100; seats won, 105.

LONDON BOROUGH COUNCILS.

The following Table shows the strength of the respective parties on the Metropolitan Borough Councils elected in November, 1906, compared with their strength in November, 1903 :—

	M.	P.	L. & S.	Ind.		M.	P.	L. & S.	Ind.
						381	159	4	86
Battersea	25	29	—	—	Kensington	43	5	6	6
Bermondsey	32	20	2	—	Lambeth	55	4	1	—
Bethnal Green	—	30	—	—	Lewisham	42	—	—	—
Camberwell	43	11	—	6	Marylebone	51	5	—	4
Chelsea	33	3	—	—	Paddington	49	7	—	4
Deptford	30	1	—	5	St. Pancras	48	10	2	—
Finsbury	34	13	1	6	Poplar	22	9	9	2
Fulham	36	—	—	—	Shoreditch	31	9	2	—
Greenwich	20	5	—	5	Southwark	32	27	1	—
Hackney	18	22	—	20	Stepney	42	14	—	4
Hammersmith	15	19	1	1	Stoke Newington	—	—	—	30
Hampstead	—	—	—	42	Wandsworth	58	—	—	2
Holborn	37	4	—	1	Westminster	53	5	2	—
Islington	58	2	—	—	Woolwich	22	—	13	1
	381	159	4	86	Totals	929	254	40	139
					In 1903	*594*	*592*	*62*	*114*

M—Moderate or Municipal Reformer; P—Progressive (including Progr.-Labour); L. & S.—Ind. Labour and Socialist; Ind.—Independents.

It will be seen that the majorities on the above Councils are as follows: M. 2, P. 3, Ind. 2, with one—Hackney—uncertain. In 1903 the Council majorities were: P. 14, M. 11, Ind. 2, Lab. 1.

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QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

THE Editors confidently recommend the following section, which deals with the great majority of the subjects upon which information is likely to be required during 1908, and includes a list of books of value to the general enquirer upon each question. In the section *Books of the Year*, pp. 225, will be found a full list of books of the year. The questions dealt with below are as follows :—

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CANALS, NATIONALISATION OF.

THE Royal Commission upon Canals, which is expected to report early in the session of 1908, was appointed: (1) To enquire into (*a*) the present condition and financial position of our canals and waterways, and (*b*) the causes which have operated to prevent the carrying out of improvements by private enterprise, and whether such causes are removable by legislation. (2) To consider (*a*) the facilities, improvements and extensions desirable, in order to complete a thorough system of communication by water between commercial and other important centres, and between such centres and the sea; (*b*) the prospect of benefit to the trade of the country, compatible with a reasonable return on the probable cost.; (*c*) the expediency of canals being made or acquired by public bodies or trusts.

There is no other great industrial country which has permitted, as we have, the misuse of its inland waterways.

In the last 30 years, France has spent over £100,000,000 on canal development, and has work now in hand to the value of some £20,000,000. All these canals are now the national property. It is important to note that not only are they a great benefit in the work they do, but they are the only successful means of keeping down railway freights on the great produce-carrying lines, which, owing to long leases granted them, are yet in company's hands. France, like ourselves, has an elaborate system of "maximum charges," but these are as frequently evaded as our own, except where the State canals come into competition with the lines. In Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, and Russia there are fine canal systems, wholly or partially under State control, which are invaluable to commerce and agriculture.

In the United Kingdom there are 3,900 miles of canals, yet the greater part of this system is of very little use for traffic; some of it is actually derelict. Varieties of causes are alleged for this condition of affairs, but there is one reason almost invariably at the root of all others, and that is the railway

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companies' fear of competition. In some cases they buy up a canal and practically close it, but the more usual course has been either to buy up some small but indispensable connecting service between two important services, strangle it, and thus render them useless, or to make a subsidy to the canal on condition that freights should be brought up practically to railway level.

The Great Western Railway Company has over a million pounds sunk in canals, upon which the total loss has been as high as £8,000 in one year. The Witham Navigation and the Channel of Fossdyke were for years carried on at a loss, owing to high freights, but each received about £10,000 a year from the Great Northern Railway Company. In all probability these conditions still obtain. The cases of the Stratford-on-Avon canal and the Gloucester and Hereford canal, of which the Great Western first obtained control, then allowed them to get into such disrepair as to be useless, were cases so flagrant that Parliament, after satisfying itself that they were not isolated, inserted a special clause in the Railway and Canal Act of 1888, to give traders power to complain and seek redress; but traders have never found this of any use, owing to the expense and uncertainty of the necessary legal proceedings.

Theoretically, railway companies are not allowed to use their money for acquiring control of existing canals, but in practice, of course, it is a simple thing to evade such regulations.

"Independent Canals."

It is customary in official returns to distinguish between canals controlled by railway companies and those which are "independent"; and of our 3,900 miles of canal no fewer than 1,200 miles are returned as railway controlled. In reality, the proportion is much larger. Thus, the Louth Navigation is returned as "independent," although it is virtually controlled by the Great Northern Railway. The Bridgewater canal, which might have been a magnificent undertaking, was so feared by the railways, that the leading shareholders of the Midland Company, and the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincoln subscribed for the bulk of the capital, put their own nominees on the board, and thus added one more to the "independent" canals which exist solely to serve railway interests.

The loss which this occasions the community may be judged when we remember that the cost of efficient carriage by canal is little more than one-fifth of that by rail. Some authorities put it at less than that. Mr. F. R. Conder, C.E., estimates the average capital cost per mile, respectively of canals and railways, as being £3,350 compared with £46,000; the cost of maintaining works for an equal volume of traffic as £1 against £4; cost of conveying heavy materials as less than £1 against £3. The total economy of transport by canals he estimates at 64 per cent. on working expenditure alone. General Sir Arthur Cotton, the great engineer and constructor of waterways in India, estimates the cost of canal traffic at one-tenth that of railway traffic.

Whatever the exact difference, there is ample margin to allow of greatly improved methods of haulage—the electrification, perhaps, of the principal routes—and yet leave an immense saving in cost of traffic.

The only way of coping with the situation is that already adopted in other countries, namely, nationalised canals. That public opinion is ripe for this is shown by the fact that in one year alone (1904) the Mansion House Association on Railway and Canal traffic, and over 60 Chambers of Commerce passed resolutions urging the Government to undertake the nationalisation of the canals.

Sir John Brunner, a member of the Canal Commission, when presiding at the last annual meeting of Brunner, Mond, & Co., Ltd., on 7th June, 1907, said:

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"I have been one of a Royal Commission visiting the North of France, Belgium, and Northern Germany, and our duty has been to examine what those three countries have done in the improvement of their canals and waterways. We have been very deeply impressed by what we have seen, and I can tell you to-day, speaking as a man of business to men of business, that the fact that in those three countries there is commercial effort, that is to say, that the State acts as a whole, using the whole power of the State in money and in credit for the benefit of the national trade, has brought to those three countries enormous, almost incalculable, benefits; and I think that any man, any intelligent man, who studies the matter as I have, for a great many years, will come to the conclusion, as I have very clearly and decidedly, that the old policy which we have adopted for generations, of leaving all public works to private enterprise—the old policy, so-called, of *Laisser-faire*—is played out completely . . . . and if we mean to hold our own in matters of trade, we must learn to follow the example that has been set us, not only by France, Belgium, and Germany, but by the United States and by everyone of the Colonies of our Empire . . . ."

Even in the absence of the report of the Royal Commission no more evidence is needed to demonstrate that our 4,000 miles of canals should be nationalised, unified, electrified, and thus rendered invaluable to our trade and commerce.

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EDUCATION.

PRIOR to the Education Acts of 1902-3 there were two kinds of elementary schools. The "Board Schools" were wholly supported by Imperial grants and local rates, and in them it was forbidden to teach any Religious catechism or formulary peculiar to any denomination; that is to say, only simple Bible Teaching might be given. The "Voluntary Schools" received only the Imperial grants and nothing from the rates, it being understood that the balance of their cost would be met by voluntary subscriptions. These schools remained under private management, and in them definitely denominational religious instruction was given. The compromise worked well so far as religious teaching was concerned, but it worked very badly with regard to education. Voluntary subscriptions fell short, and the voluntary schools were too often understaffed by unqualified teachers in unsuitable buildings. As more than half the children in the country attended these schools, the consequences were disastrous.

The Acts of 1902–3 put a stop to this dependence of education upon private charity. They provided that the whole cost of education throughout the country should be a public charge; but they left the old "voluntary schools," now called "non-provided" schools, mainly under private management. The consequence is that Nonconformists are taxed and rated for the maintenance of schools in which religious doctrines obnoxious to them are taught, in the management of which they have no effective control, and from which they and their children are excluded as head-masters by a religious test. The demand for the redress of this grievance was one of the most important issues at the last General Election.

Mr. Birrell's Bill of 1906 proposed that all schools receiving public support should forthwith be brought under public control. The normal religious

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instruction given in such schools was to be simple Bible Teaching similar to that previously given in the Board schools. A very complicated system of exceptions was proposed whereby, in a limited number of "non-provided" schools, those who objected to simple Bible Teaching might provide, at their own cost, special denominational instruction. The Bill was almost as distasteful to a large section of Mr. Birrell's own followers as it was to the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics. It was rejected by the House of Lords, and its fate was mourned by few.

Mr. McKenna's Bill of 1907 proposed to charge the private managers of the "non-provided" schools with the cost of the special denominational instruction which was given in these schools. The injustice of this measure, however, was apparent, inasmuch as it involved that Anglicans and Roman Catholics, in addition to being taxed and rated for the cost of simple Bible Teaching to which they object, should also be called upon to pay for their own religious teaching out of their own pockets. The Bill was dropped.

A new Education Bill is promised for next Session, but Liberals and Nonconformists have still no agreement as to how their policy is to be carried out. The Nonconformist M.P.'s have forwarded to Mr. McKenna a series of resolutions, the burden of which is "Back to 1902," with the old vicious dual system and the reliance on charity. The Congregational Union simply demands that all schools receiving public support should be brought under public control, and that the religious teaching given in such schools should be limited to that kind of which Nonconformists themselves approve.

The only clear lead is that given by the Labour Party, and by the recently-founded Secular Education League. Let the State do equal justice to all religious bodies. Let it confine its functions to the provision of the Secular part of education, leaving religious education to the voluntary efforts of parents and churches, whether they be Roman Catholic, Anglican, or Nonconformist.

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FREE MEALS FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN.

On 21st December, 1906, the King's assent was given to the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, introduced early in the session by W. T. Wilson on behalf of the Labour Party. As passed into law it empowers a local education authority to take steps for the feeding of underfed children, the cost of such food to be recovered from parents or, with permission of the Board of Education, borne by the authority up to an amount not more than equal to a rate of ½d. in the £. The provision of such meals or the failure of a parent to pay when required does not disfranchise or carry with it any such disability.

This is very good so far as it goes, but it is, of course, permissive, and as a result, very little has been done under it.

There is a very common impression that the insufficient feeding of school children is an evil which comes with the frost and dark mornings and bad

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trade. It is true that such conditions so aggravate the evil as to silence the most cynical, and cause the hasty raising of voluntary funds, but the deterioration resulting from under-feeding is constantly at work, as series of enquiries by medical men and physiologists have shown during recent years.

The effect of proper feeding on poor children admitted to public or semi-public institutions is usually most remarkable. During a debate in the House of Commons in March, 1905, Sir William Anson, then Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, although opposing the idea of the feeding of school children, admitted to Keir Hardie and W. Crooks that the children who attended the Day Industrial Schools and had three meals there each day, were "in a thoroughly satisfactory condition," and that he found them "bright and intelligent, and being developed physically and mentally in a thoroughly satisfactory way." Yet he could not admit this as an argument in favour of seeing that *all* children should be well fed.

Before the Scottish Commission on Physical Training (1904), Mr. Wilson Bruce and other witnesses pointed out the startling superiority of industrial school children, and added that if we fed and clothed the elementary school children as suitably we should "make a new race of them." The Commissioners note this contrast between the ill-nourished children of respectable parents and the well-developed children of those who have "altogether failed in their duty," and describe the contrast as "both marked and painful."

Before the same Commission, Dr. Hutchinson, Physician to the London Hospital, gave evidence as to the remarkable improvement of boys on going into the Navy; and Colonel Napier showed the extraordinary development of Army recruits under regular and sufficient feeding, giving elaborate tables of development in girth and weight in the first few months.

Dr. Clement Dukes took the measurements of some 7,800 men and boys from ten years of age to thirty among the artisan class, and those of a similar number of men and boys of corresponding ages among the public school, cadet and university student class. He prepared elaborate comparative tables, and laid them before the Scottish Commission. The following figures are extracted and rearranged from those tables and show the contrast between school children of the two classes at eleven and twelve years of age:—

	Average Height		Annual Growth in Height.		Average Weight with Clothing.		Annual Growth in Weight.	
	At Eleven.	At Twelve	At Eleven	At Twelve	At Eleven	At Twelve	At Eleven	At Twelve
	Inches	Inches	Inches	Inches	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Favoured Class ...	54·91	56·97	1·51	2·06	72 90	80·30	5·50	7·39
Artisan Class ...	51·52	52·99	1·00	1·47	69 46	73·68	3·15	4·22
Difference ...	3·39	3·98	·51	·59	3·44	6·62	2·35	3·17

It should be remembered that there is a considerable amount of voluntary charitable feeding of poor children. Otherwise, this painful contrast would no doubt be greater.

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It will be seen, then, that the underfeeding of children is not a local or temporary evil to be coped with by a determined effort on the part of a few rich and warm-hearted people, or by the spasmodically awakened conscience of a municipal council; but a widespread condition of affairs affecting the stamina of the whole race. It is a most elementary piece of national common-sense to see that before we force teaching upon the child it should have at least one wholesome and fairly substantial meal per day.

Our councils now have the option of seeing to this, but as we know they prefer not to exercise that option.

Among those which have emphatically refused to avail themselves of the Act is the London County Council, in whose schools it is estimated that from 60,000 to 100,000 children are attending in an underfed condition. Dr. Eicholz has estimated it at 120,000.

It is clear then that the provision of meals for underfed school children should be made obligatory upon Education Committees.

Returns from Foreign Cities.

During 1906 the Education Department issued a statement of information (Cd. 2926) collected by the Foreign Office regarding methods adopted in great Continental and American cities for dealing with under-fed children. The Foreign Office form of enquiry was sent to the 35 principal cities of Europe, and New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

Heilbronn (Wurtemburg) is the only one of all these in which no public or semi-public organisation exists for distributing meals, at anyrate in winter.

In three cases, Rotterdam, the Hague, and Luxemburg—there are private organisations which receive neither State nor municipal funds, although in each case the municipality allows the free use of the schools. In Luxemburg, too, the communal councils take a leading part in promoting the distribution of the breakfasts.

In two cases—Baden and Darmstadt—the State contributes to the cost, but the local authorities do not.

In five cases—Munich, Rome, Genoa, Madrid, and Zurich—both State and local subventions are given.

Municipal, but not central, subventions are given in all the remaining 24 cases, viz.: Vienna, Trieste, and Prague; Liège, Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent; Copenhagen; Paris; Berlin, Nuremburg, Augsburg, Würzburg, Dresden, Leipzig, Stuttgart, and Ulm; Amsterdam and Utrecht; Milan; Christiania, and Bergen; Stockholm; Barcelona.

In most cases voluntary contributions form part of the available funds.

In the majority of cases the meals are distributed through voluntary committees, but these are often directly or indirectly connected with the local authorities.

Paris.

In Paris the meals are distributed by special committees of the local "Caisses des Ecoles," semi-public institutions designed to encourage attendance at school, and to help poor pupils. There is one in every district of the city. The Mayor is always President. The Municipality controls and directs the work of these local committees.

The meals are given to all children who present a ticket. These tickets may be bought by the parents of school children, the charge varying, but never being above 15 centimes, or just under 1½d. per meal, more than sufficient to cover cost of the food. Wherever circumstances justify, the tickets are given

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to the parents without payment. The sale and distribution of the tickets is in the hands of a separate special committee organised by the Mayor, and acting under express instructions to manage the distribution so as to preclude the possibility of it being known which pupils have received gratuitous tickets.

The meal usually consists of one portion of meat and vegetables at a mid-day meal. In some poor districts or at certain times, soup is distributed in the morning at the opening of school, and a "snack" at 4 o'clock on closing. The question of generally supplying meals in the evening has recently been discussed.

The meals are served in special rooms (*cantines scolaires*) in or adjacent to the school building, and gratuitously assigned and fitted up with tables and cooking stoves by the city. The local committees bear the cost of lighting, heating, and utensils, in addition to that of the food.

From the report for 1904, the last complete year dealt with in the Return, the following facts are extracted :—

MEALS SERVED IN PARIS SCHOOLS.

Year.	Total School Population.	Number of Meals Served.	Av'rage Meals per School Child.	Total Cost of Meals.	Average Cost per Meal.
1904	181,415*	10,660,923	58	1,386,640fr. (=£55,465)	1¼d.

* Average attendance not stated.

The cost was defrayed as follows :—

	Francs.	= £	Percentage of Whole.
Grants by "Caisses des Ecoles" from subscriptions, donations, or endowments	26,640	1,065	1·9
Payments by parents	360,000	14,400	25·9
Subvention by Municipality	1,000,000	40,000	72·2
Totals	1,386,640	55,465	100

Other Continental Cities.

Berlin under-fed children are looked after by a joint Municipal and State Committee dependent apparently mainly on voluntary subscriptions ; breakfasts are given in the winter ; no figures as to the number of meals.

Vienna has a Committee with a majority of Councillors, and Mayor as chairman ; among 120,000 school population gave 1,022,780 mid-day meals, costing £4,600, or a trifle over 1d., from November to March only ; voluntary funds about £1,300, municipal grant £3,350.

Copenhagen Society for School Children's Free Meals is composed principally of school inspectors, with Director of Schools as president. Council grants 25,000 kronen (£1,388) ; voluntary funds about £1,000. Of 30,000 school children about one-third, the poorest, asked for and received three meals per

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week during January, February, and March; total cost, £2,400. There are no tickets; those who ask usually receive; no questions are raised as to parents' position.

Trieste (16,611 school children) has a society which receives free use of schools between December 1st and April 30th, and gives over 105,000 dinners of soup and bread, costing £815, or nearly 2d. each.

Brussels (14,000 school children): Voluntary Associations use schools five days in week; gave 318,700 meals, costing 20,588 fr. (£823), of which 15,000 fr. (£600) was granted by the Municipal Council.

Antwerp (26,000 children): the Municipality provides mid-day meals of soup and bread for all Kindergarten children, charging only ½d.; cost not ascertained. In addition, the Council votes 9,000 fr. (£360) to various voluntary societies. Altogether 135,881 meals given.

Milan Municipality (42,500 children) provides breakfasts daily from November to June in the schools. Parents may buy tickets at 10 to 15 centimes (1d. to 1½d.), but meals given as far as possible to all, the neediest getting preference. Altogether 2,656,482 provided, about two-thirds free. Parents payments, £2,886; municipal grant £7,865; total cost, £10,750.

Christiania (27,370 children): Municipality provides mid-day meals from about October 15th to April 30th, except vacations. Parents can buy tickets at about 1½d., or free meals given where needed; 953,430 meals given, of which 91,000 were paid for. Net cost, £8,300, voted by Municipality.

It is interesting to note that practically no attempt is made anywhere to recover money from parents who are able to pay and do not. Apparently also such cases are comparatively few. Where tickets are issued beforehand, this question cannot arise, but this is only the case in Paris, Antwerp, and one or two lesser towns.

London.

The report of the Joint Committee on Under-fed Children, published by the London County Council in September, 1907, states that for the year 1906-7 meals were provided by voluntary effort in 263 schools, the average weekly number of children fed being 26,821, and average weekly number of meals 66,436, or 2·47 meals per child. The meals were provided usually for periods varying from about 10 to 20 weeks, and in 16 schools for over 20 weeks.

United States.

In American cities nothing is done directly by municipalities towards the feeding of under-fed school children.

In New York, 15,700 dollars (about £3,277) is raised by voluntary contributions towards the upkeep of industrial schools and kindergartens maintained by Children's Aid Society, average daily attendance about 7,454. About half of these children receive dinner, and occasionally breakfast. No meals are provided for children in any public school. No other system of feeding was known.

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HANDICRAFT.

By Holbrook Jackson (joint editor of *The New Age*).

Ever since Ruskin gave art economic significance men and women have been willing to develop his ideas into active propaganda. Much useful work has been done in this way, although his great idea has at times been in danger of losing its true value behind the misguided endeavours of well-meaning zealots. What Ruskin meant was nothing short of the complete substitution of the factory and the machine by the small workshop and handicraft. The little philanthropies which followed in the wake of his idea—attempts to turn peasants and workmen into temporary craftsmen in their spare time—were foreign to the handicraft revival. But for William Morris it is quite probable that "Unto this Last" had found its final expression in bric-a-brac and hobbies. It was the fine taste, the unique practical genius, and the untiring energy of Morris that made a renascence in art possible. This renascence had its birth at his workshop in Red Lion Square some 40 years ago. Here Morris rediscovered the lost traditions of organic art which later on became the basis of the activities of the Art Workers' Guild (founded in 1884) and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (founded in 1888).

But in spite of the 20 odd years' work of these societies, and of several kindred societies which have sprung up around the same idea, the results are extremely small. The factory system is still supreme; lack of taste in materials and of common-sense in conditions still aids and abets the ugly passions of commerce. At the same time there are many examples of an improvement of both public and private taste, and taste, after all, is as necessary to reform as science, if not more so. Once it is possible to get a sufficient number of people who find the ugliness and filth of modern cities insufferable, means will be found to replace it with something more sightly. Art has great propaganda value in this respect. It quickens the perceptions and fertilises the imagination for the social reformer who has recognised the need of linking art with industry and industry with the Commonwealth. The basis of Morris's propaganda was architectonic. He saw in architecture the fundamental and master craft, to which all the other arts and crafts were to be complementary and auxiliary And those men who gathered around him were supporters of this idea. They were essentially designers, inspired with a new sense of the importance of materials. The material was to be the basis of the design, and all ornamentation was to be strictly within the limits and expressing the nature of the material. Design was to be the final embellishment of good workmanship joyfully executed.

Art and Industry.

Once this idea was properly grasped it was easy to realise the relationship between the arts and modern industry, but not so easy to find a means by which art-inspired craftsmanship could supplant trade-inspired industrialism. This is really the position of the Arts and Crafts Movement at the present. It has succeeded in demonstrating the value of its theory of a sane and honest relationship between design, material, and sound workmanship; but it has not yet succeeded in creating a public taste capable of maintaining a permanent market for its products, and its effect upon the skilled worker has been practically nil. In fact, the Arts and Crafts Movement has shown what can be done and not how to do it on a national scale.

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To William Morris and some of his fellow-craftsmen it was an easy and natural transition from the new political economy of art to a new politics for art, and they saw in Socialism the only chance of realising their aims. But the economic values established by Ruskin and practised by Morris have as yet found nobody capable of turning them into the current of practical politics. And even with the growing political tendency towards a distinct line of cleavage between capital and labour, on neither side is there as yet any place for the ideas of the craftsmen. Naturally, one looks to the workman as the stem on which the craft idea should be grafted. But production for profit and the segregation of capital and industry, with the consequent demoralisation of labour, has made this a work so difficult as to daunt all but the most hopeful who, like Mr. A. J. Penty, look upon the Trade Unions as the natural foundation of the Craft Guilds of the future, as, indeed, they are the lineal descendants of the Craft Guilds of the past.* The problem, of course, lies in the conditions of capitalist production which places the owners and the producers in separate and now consciously opposing camps. The Trade Unions, although the descendants, are most seriously differentiated from the Craft Guilds, in so far as their rights and interests are absolutely confined to conditions of labour. Their policy is the policy of a dispossessed class. The Craft Guilds, on the other hand, represented the combined interests of both worker and owner; in fact, the separation of these correlating factors had not then been so much as imagined. So that the Guilds were concerned as much with the quality of production as with the conditions of production. It is some such condition as this that will have to be established before the revival of the Crafts can become a fact. And if the Trade Unions alone are not at present the best soil for planting the new growth, pending the coming of Socialism, one might with reason hope for some excellent results from the combined efforts of, say, the Unions, the Co-operative productive societies, and the modern Craft Guilds.

The Restoration of Beauty.

At present the problem before craftsmen, as Mr. A. R. Orage has pointed out,† is largely a question of politics. But there can be no effective politics without some definite aim. At present craftsmen are by no means united, as the recent failures to establish a Craftsmen's Union and a Guild Restoration League prove. An effective political line of action may be expected as a result of the questions now being discussed by members of the Junior Art Workers' Guild and the younger craftsmen; such problems as the restoration of the Craft Guilds and of local markets; the rehabilitation of small workshops, and of apprenticeship, and the limits of machine production, and the many phases of economic relationship between handicraft and industrialism in its individual and combined forms.

These problems will have to be faced and studied alongside of the no less difficult problem of public taste. So long as we have a public content to have its cities and countryside fouled with factory smoke, its rivers polluted with industrial refuse, its streets made hideous with advertising hoadings, and its men and women degraded by drudgery and economic uncertainty, our task will be a hard one. That is why a healthy disgust with such conditions must be created. Already working side by side and in direct sympathy with the Arts and Crafts organisations, societies are coming into existence whose aim is the restoration of the old relationship between utility and beauty. Such

* "The Restoration of the Gild System." By A. J. Penty. (Sonnenschein, 3/6 net.)
† "Contemporary Review," June, 1907.

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societies are the Leeds Arts Club and the Loft Arts Club, Bradford, and the newly-formed Arts Group of the Fabian Society, which by discussion and exhibition and the deliberate support of what is excellent in modern art and craft are doing a work of incalculable value, because they aim at creating that greatest of all revolutionary forces—the desire of something better.

(A list of Arts and Crafts Societies will be found on page 208).

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HOME WORK AND SWEATING.

THERE are two classes of Home Work which come under what is called the "sweating system."

There is (*a*) the extra work taken home to be done by factory and workshop employees in their own time, *i.e.*, at nights, Saturday afternoons, Sundays, bank-holidays. This is what is commonly called "home work" in the trades affected, to distinguish it from "shop work."

Then there is (*b*) the work done in their homes by regular "out workers," whose homes, therefore, are their workshops. This latter is commonly called "out work."

As to the first of these—Home Work proper—it is obviously an unorganised and unscheduled, and therefore a particularly dangerous, form of overtime. The "overtime" of the artisan or mechanic—however reluctantly tolerated—is the result of a collective bargain, its extent is visible to all concerned, and it is paid for on a higher scale than the normal day's work. None of these checks or safeguards exist with Home Work.

As to (*b*) Out Work, or work "given out" to regular home workers, it has many evils in common with the work taken home by shop workers, whilst it has other evils of its own, as for instance, the isolation of the workers, which puts any kind of common action out of question, and the competition of those who look to such work for supplementary or casual earnings pressing bitterly on those who depend upon the work for a regular livelihood, such as it is.

Generally speaking, the two forms of Home Work have sufficient in common to justify their treatment as one subject. This is true, at anyrate, as to the helplessness of the sweated worker in face of the employer.

Terrible Competition.

The wage bargains made are sometimes nominally "collective," but as they are invariably based on piece prices and there is no regulation of hours, it is obvious that the workers are in constant competition with one another to bring down their own piece prices. This evil is enhanced by the fact that large numbers of those who take home work are women with children, and they are thus, by fear of losing their work, driven to press in the children as assistants. Thus, a mother is often left to choose between risk of seeing her children want, or becoming herself a "sweater" of child labour. Many of the worst cases of overwork reported to the School Children's Employment Committee, 1902, were of little home workers.

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Mr. Groves, Chief Factory Inspector for Birmingham, told the Sweating Commission that children of four to six years old were beaten to keep them at the tedious task of fastening hooks and eyes together.

The existence of such fierce and terrible competition as this renders this class of workers an easy prey, not only for the more unscrupulous employers, but for all those who are driven by competition to find some direction in which to reduce cost of production. One result of these conditions is an increase in pauperism, public and private, for as everyone takes home work during busy times, the shop wages soon fall below subsistence level. Hence, in slack times the workers have to resort to private charity and poor relief. When women break down under the strain, as they constantly do, they have nothing but this same choice of public relief through the Poor Law, or of private charity from pseudo-religious or pseudo-philanthropic sources.

It is not too much to say that in time *the doles become the substance of livelihood and the wages a mere supplement.* Miss Irwin, in her tract on "The Problem of Home Work" (see bibliography below) says:—

> "In the case of a factory prosecution in a town in the West of Scotland some little "time ago, an employer pleaded justification for working his employees illegal over-"time, on the ground that most of his workers were in receipt of parochial relief, and "needed the extra time to make up a wage."

These demoralising conditions are the more difficult to handle in that they are not confined to certain districts or certain trades. There is not the slightest approximation to any standards of hours or of earnings. No maximum, minimum, or averages can be satisfactorily arrived at. All that investigators can safely say is that at a given moment in a given district they have discovered facts affecting a certain number of individals. For instance, Miss Irwin (in the paper quoted) says of shirt finishing in the West of Scotland: "As nearly as my direct information allows me to form an estimate, I would conclude that the work is usually paid at about 1d. or 1¼d. per hour, although cases have been met with where the rates were as low as one farthing per hour. . . . . One of the most industrious and intelligent among the shirt finishers told me that she could never make more than 1½d. an hour with the hardest work." This is an illustration of the nearest an investigator can get to something like a local maximum, minimum, and average.

One fact which seems to be well established is, that despite all increases in cost of living, the wages for all classes of home workers have been greatly reduced of late years, and are yet steadily falling.

Remedies.

The present law regarding home work is slight and almost inoperative. The provisions of the Factory Acts intended to prohibit work being taken home are of little value. The Factory Acts of 1891 and 1901 compel the keeping of lists of all persons employed by the occupier of a factory or workshop or by a contractor, also the addresses where they work. In cases where a home workshop is dangerous or injurious to health, a factory owner or contractor may be fined for continuing to send work there for longer than a month after receiving notice. These sections of the Act are practically a dead letter. Out workers are denied even the elementary protection of the Truck Acts (Squire v. Midland Lace Company, 1905).

A great deal of sweated work—including some of the worst—would disappear if a proper fair wages and conditions' contract were enforced in every contract of the Government and all other public bodies. This clause should not merely require fair conditions for the work done under the contract, but should require

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proof that such conditions obtained for all the work done by the contracting firm. Even better would it be if all such work of the Government and Town Councils were done in their own workshops. Thus, all sweating would disappear in the manufacture of military and naval uniforms, as well as those of the coastguards, police, customs, prison officials, post-office, fire-brigade, hospital, and asylum attendants, park keepers, &c. The same applies to boots, shoes, and other clothing; also to all the saddlery, chains, and accoutrements; the furniture of offices, barracks, prisons, &c., and other things into which sweated work now enters.

A more general remedy, strongly urged by many reformers, is the establishment of *Wages Boards*, as to which, see under that heading.

To Extinguish Sweating.

One of the most drastic and far-reaching schemes ever suggested for extinction of sweating by the power of the State is that which the Government of the Australian Commonwealth has foreshadowed as a part of its protective measures. Whether looked upon merely as a political move of the Protectionists, or as arising from a genuine desire for a great social reform, it is a proposal of the greatest importance, and must be considered upon its merits.

In the Federal House of Representatives on October 1st, 1907, Sir William Lyne, the Treasurer, said it was proposed to impose an excise duty, equal to half the customs duty, on all goods manufactured in Australia, the excise to be remitted when the conditions under which the goods were manufactured were fair and reasonable.

Sir William Lyne recognised that the chief difficulty would be to determine what constituted fairness and reasonableness. The Government had, therefore, decided that goods bearing the Commonwealth trade label should be exempt, and goods not bearing it should not be exempt, such trade mark to be applicable only with the consent of the Minister, when goods were made under an award of a Court of Law or of the Wages Board.

It was proposed to create a new tribunal styled the Board of Excise, consisting of three members appointed by the Governor-General in Council. The Board would decide when goods were made under fair conditions, and power would be given to appoint assessors and refer disputes to the industrial tribunals of the different States or to the police magistrate for inquiry and report, with authority to inspect books and examine witnesses on oath, the witnesses to be protected from injury which they might incur in answering questions.

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HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE present peerage is mainly of modern creation, barely 20 of the peerages dating from before the sixteenth century. When James I. came to the throne there were not 60 peers in existence, and a number of these were afterwards slain in the Civil War, as also were many of the peers made by James I. and Charles I. Charles II. made 64—not always on account of personal merit—but the great increase in numbers began under the Hanoverians with the sale of peerages to the owners of borough constituencies. George III. alone created 300 new peers, the majority practically buying their titles over the counter.

Since the Reform Act, titles have mainly been the reward of money given to the secret funds of the parties. Mr. Gladstone was four times Prime Minister, and an indefatigable peer-maker. Needless to say, few of his peers kept up any pretence of their Liberalism when once landed in the "charmed circle."

There has been a tendency of late years—due, it is generally supposed, to the personal views of the King—towards conferring titles on the grounds of intellectual merit, such as distinction won in science, medicine, or the arts; but this new departure has not yet materially affected the composition of the peerage, which is still essentially the outcome of the most shamelessly corrupt periods of politics in our history.

The House of Lords is still the House of the Landlords, but it is more, it is the House of the Moneylords, for the two interests are always bound to coalesce either by sale and purchase, or by the time-honoured method of marriage alliances. A common picture of the House of Lords as a collection of languid and not very intelligent aristocrats, with a few weedy youths and some elderly clergymen is a mere travesty. On the contrary, it represents the consolidated interests of land and capital, led by some of the most astute and ruthless lawyers of the day.

The Upper House.

There are 677 Peers of the United Kingdom, but of the 89 Irish peers only 28, elected from the number, sit in the Upper House, and only 16 out of the 27 Scotch Peers. Non-elected Irish Peers may sit in the House of Commons, but no Scotch Peers may do so.

The House of Lords is made up as follows :—

Peers sitting in succession (as a rule as sons of their fathers) ..	432	
Elected by Scottish Hereditary Peers	16	
Elected by Irish Hereditary Peers	28	
		476
Peers—the first of their line	98	
Life Peers (Law Lords)	5	
Archbishops (2) and Bishops (24)	26	
		129
Total		605

Thus, even if the principle of a Second Chamber be accepted, any rational theory of a Senate is violated by a House of which over two-thirds consists of persons occupying their seats by accident.

The Powers of the Lords.

Except as to finance, the House of Lords has the same legislative powers as the House of Commons; that is to say, the personal views of 605 peers weigh equally with the wishes of 8,000,000 electors.

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The House of Lords is theoretically the final Court of Appeal in legal matters, but no peers except the five Law Lords are allowed to act as judges. No such scruples exist as to sitting in judgment upon the legislation of the Commons' House.

To give a list of the measures opposed in some stage or another by the House of Lords would be to give a list of practically every political and social reform in parliamentary history. The mere fact that a change is proposed has always been considered sufficient justification for the majority of peers to oppose it, no matter whether the suggested change has been the introduction of a new, strange thing, or the removal of an old, corrupt thing.

Attempts to Reform the Lords.

In the earlier Parliaments all members, peers, and elected representatives sat together. For long after the separation the Commons remained paramount, since the only use of Parliament was to vote supplies and suggest reforms. Under the Stuarts the House of Lords became a tool of the monarchy.

In 1649 the Commonwealth Parliament adopted the famous resolution, "That the House of Lords is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished." For the time being it ceased to exist.

From the Restoration to the Reform Act of 1832, the House of Commons was entirely subservient to the landed class, and no friction occurred. From the Reform Act onwards the two houses have often been in conflict.

In 1869 Lord Russell proposed to introduce 28 Life Lords as part of the House, but was defeated. Proposals of reform by similar means were raised by Lord Rosebery in 1884 and by Lord Salisbury in 1888, but the former were defeated and the latter dropped after a second reading.

Mr. Gladstone thundered against the Lords in 1884 and 1894, but made no serious proposals for reform.

From 1895 to 1906 the Lords have been a Tory Committee. Now, once more the Commons majority is faced with its old difficulty.

On November 27th, 1906, over 1,000 delegates from Liberal Associations called upon the Government to formulate proposals for reform, and on June 24th, 1907, the Prime Minister's resolution was carried by 432 to 147. The terms of the resolution and the lines indicated by him of a future bill on the subject are given on page 52.

THE BISHOPS' VOTE.

The spiritual peers have almost invariably been anti-progressive, anti-humanitarian, and anti-social reform. Sometimes at the twelfth hour the Bishops have supported reforms when the strength of public opinion has made their voice and vote no longer necessary. But so long as the cause of reform is unpopular, the Bishops are nearly always hostile, indifferent, or absent.

Corn Laws.

	For	Agst.
1839—Proposal to examine into effect of Corn Laws	0	4
1840—Proposal to examine into effect of Corn Laws (after alarming demonstrations)	5	6
1846—Proposal to examine into effect of Corn Laws (battle fought and already won)	18	9

Death Penalty.

	For	Agst.
1810—To abolish hanging for stealing 5s. and upwards	0	7
1811—To abolish hanging for house robbery and poaching	0	3
1813—To abolish hanging for shoplifting	0	4

1820—To abolish hanging for "privately stealing." The Lords agreed to an amendment that death be the penalty for over £10. Five Bishops present, and silent.

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1834—The Bishops' vote ensured a majority of two in favour of the continuance of hanging for theft, the majority of lay peers being in favour of reducing the penalty.

Dr. Josiah Oldfield stated on June 27th, 1906, that having circularised the religious leaders on this penalty, practically the whole Bench declared for hanging.

Education and Children's Labour.

1807.—Schools Bill, authorising expenditure out of the rates. For, 3; against, 15. "An innovation that might shake the foundations of our religion." —CANTERBURY.

In 1842 on Mines Regulation Act they were silent while the Lords agreed to amendment which deprived pit lads of their chance of education.

The formation of the present Education Department was supported by only three Bishops, 15 voting against.

In the debates on the Education Acts of 1902, 1903, and 1906, the bishops lost no opportunity of pressing the financial claims of the Church.

Political Reform.

	For	Agst.
1831—Reform Bill	2	21
Riotous scenes followed. Canterbury and London badly handled in the streets.		
1832—Reform Bill	12	15

Municipal Corporations Reform.

	For	Agst.
1835—Lords' amendment that the handful of liverymen, &c., should continue "to have and enjoy the same share and benefit of the common lands and public stock, money, chattels, &c., as heretofore"	12	4
Original clauses supported throughout by one or more of these four, with all other Bishops absent or against.		

Parish Councils Bill, 1894.

Clause 1—Amendment to exclude all parishes under 500 population	14	0
Clause 2—Amendment to prevent working men as voters	14	3
Clause 3—Amendment to prevent working men as councillors	4	0
Clause 4—Amendment to prevent meetings in schoolrooms	13	0
(This would have left public-houses as the only meeting-places.)		
Clause 14.—Amendment to prevent parish trustees of charities	10	0
Clause 44.—Amendment to exclude lodgers and service franchise	9	4

Labour Questions.

On labour questions the Bishops are usually absent or silent.

1883—To abolish payment of wages in public-houses.. .. .. ..(Ab. 24)	2	0
1890—Employers' Liability: Amendment to delete employers' responsibility for foremen's actions	1	0
1893—Employers' Liability: Amendment to allow contracting out	7	0
1893—Employers' Liability: Amendment to limit operations of Act to three years	1	0

Women's Questions.

In 1834 a Poor Law Amendment Act relieved putative fathers from support of illegitimates. Exeter spoke vehemently against this, censuring the Poor Law Commissioners for referring to the "unfortunate" young men, while speaking of the mothers' "vice." London opposed Exeter in an astonishing speech, and led all other Bishops present in support of alteration. (July 28th.)

In 1884, and again twice in 1885, when by collusion between Lords Salisbury, Rosebery, and Kimberley the Women's Franchise question was shelved, the Bishops sat in deathly silence.

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Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.

	For	Agst.
1883—Marriage of Deceased Wife's Sister	0	22
1883—Marriage of Deceased Wife's Sister	0	17
1894—Marriage of Deceased Wife's Sister	0	21
1907—Marriage of Deceased Wife's Sister	0	16

Peace.

Mr. Howard Evans, chairman of International Arbitration League, said in the *Crusader*, October, 1904, that every war in which England had been engaged had been justified and glorified by the Bishops. Treaties of arbitration had lately come into favour, but the Anglican church had done nothing to promote them. The cause had never had help or sympathy from any Bishops save the late Dr. Westcott and the present Bishop of Hereford.

Chinese Labour.

On March 4th, 1904, on the Chinese Labour Ordinance debate, the Archbishop of Canterbury withdrew his previous timid doubts as to the moral effects of the Ordinance. He said that he, for one, "in ignorance," had spoken hastily. After all, it was a "regrettable necessity." (Hansard, 131, 187.)

March 21st, 1904, on Lord Coleridge's resolution against Chinese Labour Ordinance: Bishop of Hereford, for; Bishop of Bristol, against; two Archbishops and 22 Bishops absent. Only a moral question, of course.

March 29th, 1906, on vote of confidence in Lord Milner, after his admission of illegally permitting flogging: For (including Canterbury), 5; against, 1.

Religious Liberty.

The Bishops have consistently shown themselves opposed to religious liberty and tolerance on all occasions, whether the questions were those of University tests, Church oaths, Roman Catholic or Jewish disabilities, or any other matters.

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HOUSING AND TOWN DEVELOPMENT.

In reply to a deputation to the Premier and Mr. John Burns, on August 7th, on the question of Housing, the latter stated that he hoped to introduce during the Session of 1908 a measure dealing with the Housing Problem and providing for Town Development.

The principal evils referred to in the general expression "The Housing Problem" are of four kinds: Firstly, the heavy proportion of income which goes in rent; secondly, the overcrowding of persons per room; thirdly, the unfitness and insanitation of many dwelling-houses; and, fourthly, the overcrowding per acre and the difficulty which dwellers in cities experience in getting out into the country.

With regard to the first of these evils, it is sufficient to notice that in the lowest classes 25 to 30 and even 40 per cent. of the income often goes in rent. With regard to the second, in nearly all large cities there are an immense number of cases of families each living in a single room. In London alone there are two or three hundred thousand people housed in this way. Even among the better-class working-men there is a great deal of overcrowding. Thus defining overcrowding as two or more persons to one room, Mr. Charles Booth states that with respect to carpenters, 44 per cent. of those living in the inner part of London are overcrowded, and in the outer belt 27 per cent. For the masons the figures are 60 and 39; for the bricklayers, 66 and 48; for engineers, 43 and 22; for printers, 50 and 20; and so on.

The evil of insanitation is something different from and in addition to the evil of overcrowding. It means bad houses, unfit for human habitation. In the case of single persons, nearly all the lodging-houses provided for the poorer classes were of this character, up till recently. But in the course of the last 20 years great improvements have been made so far as men are concerned the Rowton houses and several municipal lodging houses having been built. So far as women are concerned, however, with the exception of one lodging-house in Glasgow and another contemplated in London, nothing has been done. So far as houses for families are concerned it is well-known that every city has miles of streets of insanitary dwelling-houses which the medical officers dare not condemn. A typical illustration was provided by the Boundary Street area, which was destroyed by the London County Council. The figures for the death-rate for 1889 prior to the destruction of the area are given below:—

	Bethnal Green.	Represented Area.	London.
	Per 1,000.	Per 1,000.	Per 1,000.
General mortality	22·8	40·13	18·4
Death from zymotic diseases	3·7	10·71	2·33
Death from tubercular diseases	3·9	7·26	2·69

The fourth evil of overcrowding per acre may be described as the towniness of towns, and it is an evil which has especially developed in recent years. It is sometimes imagined that towns grow in population by saturation like a sponge, but a far more correct idea is that they grow by addition of successive coats like those of an onion.

The following table illustrates the growth of London during the nineteenth century, from which it will be seen that while the population in the centre has

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actually decreased, the growth has come about in districts further and further from the heart.

	Acreage.	Population.		
		1801.	1851.	1901.
City and immediately surrounding parishes	1,724	256,000	266,000	100,000
Inner belt surrounding the above ..	5,237	345,000	711,000	710,000
Outer belt	69,491	357,000	1,394,000	3,750,000
Districts lying outside the County of London	—	—	196,000	2,050,000
Total of Greater London ..	—	—	2,567,000	6,610,000

What has to be Done.

Realising the correct nature of the growth of cities, the first thing to do is to prevent bad growth, and that is exactly what is not being done. In the outlying districts of nearly all cities of this country, narrow roads, bad homes, and crowded areas are being built. This is due to two causes. First of all there is no general plan of development sketched out, and, secondly, the area is generally not connected by any administration to the adjoining city, but is largely in the hands of landowners, who are anxious to make as much money out of it as possible. What is required is that for each city there should be some central authority with a jurisdiction extending several miles beyond the present houses. To this central authority should be given power to control the general lines of growth. It should have in mind the necessity of large radial roadways and proper building regulations, &c., and also the provision of large open spaces. This is no new proposal; it is universally adopted in the United States and throughout almost the whole of Germany, but such precautions are almost unknown in this country. To this central authority should be given certain revenues derived from the proper taxation and rating of land in the neighbourhood of large cities. (See article on Land Taxation on page 120.)

Another point on which the legislature should insist is that greater pressure should be brought to bear upon landlords who own insanitary property. Mr. Charles Booth is specially urgent in making this demand. What is required is that the landlord should be placed in the position of other owners of property and if he possesses what is dangerous to life he should be obliged to set it to rights or destroy it at his own expense.

Municipalities can well afford to be more active than they have been hitherto in enforcing the demands of their medical officer. Where they build houses for the working classes they ought to see that a profitable rent is charged, but where they demolish insanitary areas, they will be well advised to leave them as open spaces, and frankly recognise that such undertakings must be unremunerative.

The solution of the Housing Problem is still in its infancy. One of the main causes is nothing less than poverty itself, and the worst forms of overcrowding cannot be removed until a remedy for the general root evil is found, but as housing is at the very root of national life it is incumbent upon everyone to strive their utmost to deal with the awful situation in which the people of the country exist at the present time.

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INCOME-TAX.

MR. ASQUITH'S Budget of 1907 made for the first time a differentiation between earned and unearned incomes, putting the tax on the former at 9d. and on the latter 1s.; this differentiation only applied to incomes below £2,000 a year. Over that sum all incomes are taken as unearned.

This new departure was a step in the right direction towards a graduated income-tax, but it falls far short of the requirements of the case with regard to large incomes. When a man receives an income of over £5,000 a year he occupies an important place in the State owing to his money, and when his income reaches several times this figure he becomes a dominant factor in the State. For this reason the State which tolerates the concentration of such enormous wealth in the hands of a few private individuals, and protects them in their possession of it, has a perfect right to insist upon the payment of income-tax at a much higher rate.

A convenient way of imposing such a surtax would be to allow the ordinary tax of 1s. in the £ to be collected at the source as at present and to place an additional tax, graduated according to the amount of the income, directly upon the owner. The following scale might reasonably be adopted:—

	£		£			
On incomes of	5,000	to	6,000	....	a surtax of	½ per cent.
,, ,,	6,000	to	8,000	....	,, ,, ...	1½ ,,
,, ,,	8,000	to	10,000	....	,, ,, ...	2 ,,
,, ,,	10,000	to	12,000	....	,, ,, ...	2½ ,,
,, ,,	12,000	to	14,000	....	,, ,, ...	3 ,,
,, ,,	14,000	to	16,000	....	,, ,, ...	3½ ,,
,, ,,	16,000	to	18,000	....	,, ,, ...	4 ,,
,, ,,	18,000	to	20,000	....	,, ,, ...	4½ ,,
,, ,,	20,000	to	24,000	....	,, ,, ...	5 ,,
,, ,,	24,000	to	28,000	....	,, ,, ...	5½ ,,
,, ,,	28,000	to	32,000	....	,, ,, ...	6 ,,
,, ,,	32,000	to	36,000	....	,, ,, ...	6½ ,,
,, ,,	36,000	to	40,000	....	,, ,, ...	7 ,,
,, ,,	40,000	to	50,000	....	,, ,, ...	7½ ,,

With further increases for incomes above £50,000.

It will be seen that a necessary feature of this tax is, that it should be levied directly upon the recipient who will have therefore to make a direct return of the total amount of his income. This feature is one of the difficulties of a

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graduated income-tax, and if it were proposed to insist upon this for all incomes it would almost be insurmountable. There are probably 200,000 people whose incomes exceed £1,000 a year, and even apart from evasions, it would be very difficult to obtain exact particulars in all these cases. But the number of people whose incomes exceed £5,000 a year is probably not more than 14,000. Moreover, these incomes are in the main derived from property, and are generally hereditary. In consequence they can be kept track of to a large extent by the officials of the State who are kept posted up in the affairs of the recipients by the enumeration required by the death duties.

Graduated Income-Tax exists in the Principal British Colonies as follows:—

(1).—THE CAPE.

INCOMES.	TAX.
Less than £1,000	Nil.
Between £1,000 and £2,000	Nil on first £1,000 6d. in £ on remainder.
Between £2,000 and £5,000	Nil on first £1,000, 6d. in £ on second £1,000, 9d. in £ on remainder.
Over £5,000	Nil on first £1,000, 9d. on that between £2,000 and £5,000, and 12d. on remainder.

NOTE 1.—Persons are obliged to send in a return of their incomes direct, and the tax is assessed on these returns.

NOTE 2.—But Note 1 does not apply to dividends derived from Limited Companies, who are treated as if they were individuals, and accordingly pay on the whole of their profits, and the individual shareholder is precluded from obtaining any return of the tax, even if his income is less than £1,000.

(2)—SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

	Tax on income derived from Property.		Tax on income derived from Personal Exertion.
Income-tax of individuals with incomes less than £800	9d.	....	4½d.
Income-tax of companies and of individuals—incomes over £800	13½d.	....	7d.

There are also certain exemptions for incomes below £400. The profits of a trader working with his own capital are treated as income from personal exertion.

(3).—VICTORIA.

	Tax on income derived from Property.		Tax on income derived from Personal Exertion.
Individuals—			
On first £500	6d.	....	3d.
On second £500	8d.	....	4d.
On third £500	10d.	....	5d.
On all in excess of £1,500	12d.	....	6d.
Companies—			
Companies, not life assurance	7d.	....	7d.
Life assurance	8d.	....	—

The assessment is direct.

The profits of a trader working with his own capital are treated as from personal exertion.

(4).—QUEENSLAND.

In Queensland there is an elaborate system of graduated tax on incomes according to—(1) amount; (2) whether from property or personal exertion; (3) individuals or companies; (4) home or foreign, &c.

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INDIAN REFORM.

By the Hon. G. K. GOKHALE, Member of the Viceregal Council.

THE Reform movement in India has passed through very troublous times during 1907. The Indian "unrest," which was officially denied by Mr. Morley at the beginning of the year, when friends of India in the House of Commons called attention to it to urge the need of reform, has since been used by the Bureaucracy to justify a resort to a policy of repression, such as has not been witnessed in the country since the dark days of the Mutiny. This repression has been particularly severe in two provinces—the Punjaub and Bengal.

The tenth of May last was the fiftieth anniversary of the great Mutiny, and, somehow, the European community in the Punjaub became suddenly panic-stricken, and persuaded itself that the people of that Province, who had kept out of the affair of 1857, would now have their turn. And the panic soon spread to the Government. As a result, measures of fierce repression were at once adopted. Two men—one of them, Lala Lajpat Rai, an earnest social and religious reformer, with a record of public work behind him of which any Indian may be proud—were suddenly arrested and deported without trial and without even a charge being framed against them. Men of the highest respectability, holding prominent positions in public life, were arrested wholesale at Rawalpindi and made to undergo a miserable, protracted trial, extendingl over five months—during which time they were compelled to rot in jail, bai being refused—and this on the strength of evidence denounced by the magistrate himself in the end as fabricated! Newspapers were prosecuted for sedition, areas were proclaimed (public meetings being prohibited in them), and altogether a reign of terror came to be established for a time. In Bengal in addition to the prosecution of newspapers and the proclaiming of areas, a vigorous crusade was undertaken against schoolboys, who in some instances were publicly flogged or sentenced to hard labour and otherwise treated as though they belonged to the class of hardened criminals! All this caused intense indignation throughout India, and a kind of general gloom settled over the whole land for several months.

It was hoped by some that this gloom might be relieved, at least partially, by the measures of reform which Lord Minto, the Viceroy, and Mr. Morley, the Secretary of State for India, were understood for some time to be elaborating between them. But that hope has not been realised. These measures, four in number, were first foreshadowed by Mr. Morley in his speech in Parliament on the Indian Budget, and they were afterwards announced in greater detail in August last. They are (1) the appointment of two Indian Members to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, (2) the appointment of a Royal Commission on Decentralisation in India, (3) the creation of Imperial and Provincial Advisory Councils of Notables, and (4) the enlargement of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils.

Of these, the first is a small but valuable step forward, though its value depends almost entirely on the persons selected, and at present the selection rests with the Secretary of State. As regards the Decentralisation Commission, it has not yet begun its work, and it is therefore too early to express any opinion about it; but if its labours result in improving the position of popular representatives on Municipal and Local Boards, and if, further, they are associated in some manner with the general work of District administration, there will be some reason to regard the work of the Commission with satisfaction. The Councils of Notables are to have no status or functions recognised by statute, and they are more for show than for real work, and to the extent to which there is anything real in them they are an attempt to set up a rival.

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influence to that of the Reform party in the country. The reform of the Legislative Councils, which was expected to be a substantial measure of reform, turns out, as outlined, to be an altogether insignificant affair, and has been received with a feeling of profound disappointment in India. It is a mere increase in the number of members—both official and non-official—without any widening of the functions of the Councils. And there is even an attempt at a slight retrogression, so far as the representation given to the general public—apart from that given to minorities or sectional interests—is concerned. Thus in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, while this representation at present is about *one-sixth* (four out of a total of 24), it will be reduced to *one-eighth* after this "reform" is effected!

An Irresponsible Bureaucracy.

With the exception of some leaders of the Mahomedan community, who are pleased with the special representation proposed to be given to them, there are few men in India who are not grievously disappointed with these measures of reform. Meanwhile, the sneering attitude which Mr. Morley chose to adopt towards the Reform party in his last Indian Budget speech has caused deep pain, and intensified the feeling of resentment evoked by his sanctioning measure after measure of repression against a helpless people. He has failed to understand the real character and extent of the present unrest in India, and in his utterances in the House of Commons he has permitted himself to be simply the spokesman of the Bureaucracy. That such a man should have so failed illustrates one of the greatest difficulties connected with the present system of Indian Administration. It is that the Bureaucracy in India is for all practical purposes irresponsible, and that the Secretary of State's control, exercised from a distance of 6,000 miles, is bound to be only nominal, however well-meaning he may be personally. He has to take his facts from the officials in India, and he cannot help taking their views with their facts. And the public opinion, with which he is in touch, and by which he is influenced, is not the opinion of those who are affected by his acts, but the opinion of the public in England, which lies helplessly at the mercy of unscrupulous newspaper correspondents, such as those who engineered the scare of May last.

The real danger to the Reform movement in India comes not from without but from within—not from Government repression, but from dissensions in the ranks of the Reform party itself. Already a new party has come to the front, with a programme much the same at that of the Sinn Feiners in Ireland, and its ranks have been greatly strengthened during the last few months owing to the repressive policy of the Government. But while its activity is prejudicial to the cause of reform on the one hand, on the other it will add enormously to the difficulties that confront the Bureaucracy in the administration of the country. What the situation requires is a statesmanship that will deal not with outer symptoms merely, but with the deeper roots of the present unrest. Of such statesmanship, however, there is so far no sign.

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IRELAND.

WHEN the English Government lost, in 1907, their golden opportunity of dealing with the question of Irish Home Rule and introduced their ridiculous Devolution Bill, they strengthened immensely the hands of the "Sinn Fein" party. To the growth of this party was in some measure due the unanimity with which Mr. Birrell's Bill was rejected. One of the principles of Sinn Fein is that no representatives should sit at Westminster. All Irishre forms, it is contended, have been due to agitations at home. The policy of the movement is to boycott everything English, to develop the native language and industries, and as far as possible to develop what would be virtually a national system of government and administration based upon the voluntary action of the local governing bodies and the acquiescence of the people.

The organs of the movement are *Sinn Fein* and *The Peasant*, successor to the *Irish Peasant*, suppressed through the regrettable action of the Catholic Bishops. Both are published at Crow Street, Dublin.

The Gaelic League and kindred Gaelic societies have now over 1,000 working branches, the membership of which is estimated at 50,000. There is an increasing number of classes for the study of the Irish language, and the day and evening schools, colleges, and branch classes are attended by over 200,000 students. Dr. Douglas Hyde is President of the League, and "Padraig O'Dalaigh" is General Secretary. Its offices are at 24, Upper Connell Street, Dublin, and *An Claidheamh Soluis*—or *The Sword of Light*—is its organ.

The *Leader* (Dublin), a weekly review of politics, art, and industry, is the principal organ of the industries revival and supports the work of the Gaelic League.

Co-operative Agriculture.

The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society continues to show steady development in reviving Irish agriculture by the organisation of its farming on co-operative lines. Incidentally, this work is reviving the social side of the old clan spirit which English policy so long sought to crush.

The societies formed by the I.A.O.S. may be for (*a*) working a creamery; (*b*) the joint sale of eggs and poultry; (*c*) joint purchase of seeds, implements, manures, &c.; (*d*) co-operative flax working. Also for (*e*) the production and sale of cottage industries, such as lace or toys. The creamery products are marketed by the Irish Co-operative Agency, Ltd., which has its head-quarters in Limerick.

Perhaps the most important and valuable I.A.O.S. work is the organisation of agricultural credit societies on the Raiffeissen system. Each individual pledges his credit to the local bank or the Department of Agriculture. On the body of credit loans are raised at current rates of interest and re-lent at 1 per cent. higher to those individuals who have applied for them. Thus the smallest farmers may obtain productive capital at easy interest. The societies are managed by committees elected by the members and all local circumstances are known to them. Up to December 31st, 1906, some 8,000 loans varying from £1 to £50 had been advanced to small farmers.

The total number of agricultural societies recorded on December 31st, 1906, was as follows: Creameries 341, Agricultural Societies 159, Credit Societies 247, Poultry Selling 29, Home Industries 51, Flax Treatment 9, Bee-keeping 21, Federations 4, Miscellaneous Societies 18. The total membership was about 90,000, and the total turnover for 1906 more than £1,250,000.

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The whole of this movement has been built up since the I.A.O.S. was founded in 1889 by Sir Horace Plunket. Its development has been greatly aided by the Department of Agriculture, which grew out of it. One excellent result ot the work is that many peasants have from it received a business training which has strengthened immeasurably their self-reliance and judgment.

The Labour Movement.

The fourteenth annual Irish Trade Union Congress was held in Dublin, May 20th to 23rd, 1907, when Councillor James McCarron (Londonderry) presided over a gathering of 84 delegates.

The Congress condemned the Irish Council Bill, declared in favour of nationalisation of railways and canals, and recommended all Irish trade unions to affiliate with the Labour Party.

In the election for the eight members of the Parliamentary Committee a woman, for the first time, was elected, Miss Mary Galway (Belfast Textile Workers) securing third place.

There are Labour members on nearly all local governing bodies in Ireland, but, as a rule, it is very difficult to obtain any information as to their numbers or the effects of their work.

There are two representatives of the Labour Party on Belfast City Council, as well as three other members who are Trade Unionists. The Labour Party has also two members on the Poor Law Guardians.

In Cork the Labour Party is represented by three aldermen, seven councillors, nine guardians, 1 harbour commissioner, and four members of the Port Sanitary Board. Public baths have been built, great improvements made in housing of the working classes—on which some £60,000 has been laid out—and the factory and workshop laws more vigorously enforced.

Londonderry Trades Council has secured the election of three of its members.

Athlone Trade and Labour Society, formed four years ago in face of much opposition, has already three representatives on the Town Council, and one on the Board of Guardians. The Labour representatives have succeeded in carrying through a housing scheme, getting the fair wages resolution adopted both by the Council and Guardians, and the road-making done by direct labour.

Kilkenny has three Labour councillors, and two aldermen. The Kilkenny Labour group has secured the introduction of a Technical Institute, a free library, also street lighting by gas instead of lamps, and the erection of two rows of artisans' cottages.

A list of Irish Trades Councils will be found on p. 175. The Secretary of the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee is Mr. E. L. Richardson, 7, Melrose Avenue, Fairview, Dublin.

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LABOUR DAILY NEWSPAPER.

For several years past Trade Unionists and Socialists have expressed a desire to have a daily paper run from the Labour point of view. Up to the present no attempt to do this has been made, unless the abortive attempt to produce the *Majority*, which only ran for five days and was neither produced nor supported by Labour, be counted. The most important Labour and Socialist periodicals at present are produced weekly and monthly. A complete list of these will be found on pages 221-224.

In a daily paper the first thiug to be decided before considering the cost, possible circulation, and return from subscribers and advertisers, will be the character of the paper which is required. Two quite distinct kinds of papers are possible; (*a*) a paper like the German *Vorwaerts*, which is a kind of daily *Clarion*, and which does not profess to give in any detail the general news of the world; or (*b*) a paper like one of the daily morning halfpenny papers which we have at present, but which would be run in the interests of Labour instead of in the interests of Liberalism and Conservatism.

Rough Outline of Cost.

The cost of running a daily newspaper is divided into the cost of producing a single copy and the cost of producing and distributing copies afterwards. In the first heading must be included all the expenses of the office, of the editorial staff, of the contributors, of the compositors, &c., and into the latter must be put the cost of the paper and ink, the cost of the actual printing, the cost of carriage, and other items dealing with distribution. Whichever nature of paper be adopted it may be taken as roughly true that on the basis of an eight or ten page paper sold at a halfpenny, the cost of producing every additional 1,000 copies after the first will be just about covered by the amount received for the sale of these copies. In arriving at this conclusion account has been taken of the fact that of every 1,000 printed, probably only 700 will be sold, and that for these the publishers of the paper will not receive a halfpenny a copy, but probably something under one-third of a penny.

There remains the cost of producing a single copy, and this, if the enterprise is to be a success, must be paid for out of the advertisement revenue. For a paper of the *Vorwaerts* character a sum £10,000 to £25,000 a year would probably be required to produce a single copy every day, and in order to get a revenue from advertisements sufficient to cover this, it would be necessary to have a circulation of at least 50,000 to 100,000 (taking into account the fact that a Labour paper is not considered by advertisers as good as papers going to a more wealthy section of the community). If a paper of the *Morning Leader* type be contemplated, the cost of producing one copy would vary very much with the quality of the news supplied. It could hardly be less than £50,000 a year, and might easily amount to £150,000. In order to pay for this a circulation of 300,000, or, perhaps, half a million, would be a necessity.

Difficulties to be Overcome.

Among the difficulties that will have to be overcome before such an enterprise can be successfully carried out will be that of placing the general conduct of the paper on firm lines, which while satisfying the great trade unions and in the main following the policy required by them will, nevertheless, give a unity and precision to the publication which would be lacking to a paper

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conducted by a committee. Again, if the paper is to be of the *Vorwaerts* type, can a sufficient number of people be induced to buy it every day (though it does not supply general news) in order to make it go? The problem is a very different one from that of a weekly issue, because the latter can be sold at weekly meetings of the various local societies, while, unless some quite new means of distribution be invented, a daily issue will have to be sold through the ordinary newsagent channels. On the other hand, if a paper of the *Morning Leader* type be proposed, it will be able to be bought in place of one of the present halfpenny daily papers, but the circulation necessary to make it a success is still greater and it will have to be made very attractive. The paper will only go provided it is taken up with real enthusiasm, not merely by the leading men in the trade unions, but also by the rank and file. Provided these men and women supply the necessary enthusiasm, the great difficulties which have been mentioned above can undoubtedly be overcome.

LAND (RURAL), DEVELOPMENT OF.

THE question of Rural Depopulation has for a long time occupied public attention, and coupled with this is the serious fact that land in the United Kingdom to the extent of many thousand acres is rapidly going out of cultivation. The following figures from the Census show the reduction in farm labour during the last 50 years :—

Number of Workers on Farms.

Census Year.	Male Persons.	Female Persons.	Total.
1851	1,232,576	143,475	1,376,051
1861	1,206,280	90,525	1,296,805
1871	1,014,428	58,656	1,073,084
1881	924,871	40,346	965,217
1891	841,884	24,150	866,034
1901	715,138	12,002	727,130

On the other hand, the depreciation of rural property is very marked, and is a well-known complaint at the present day. In his book on "Land Reform," Mr. Jesse Collins gives a striking illustration :—

> Last week an estate comprising 512 acres of arable and 87 acres of pasture land, and residence and farm buildings, situate near Louth, Lincolnshire, was offered by public auction, and the highest bid obtained for it publicly was £6,750. In 1874 the late owner refused £36,000 tor the same estate.

It is rapidly becoming evident that unless some steps be taken to check the continuance of these tendencies, England will become a vast network of cities, while the intervening spaces will be devoted to the pleasure-grounds of rich men.

In proposing to remedy this state of things, the Tariff Reformers urge a protective duty on cereals, but both theory and experience point to the fact that such a duty would only be in the form of a bonus to landlords, and would not permanently benefit agriculture. The real remedies lie deeper and are primarily concerned with the whole system of our present Land Laws, in which category must be included the traditions which are connected with the holding and leasing of land.

There are three important reasons why land is at present going out of cultivation: In the first place, the farmer is rarely the owner of the soil which he

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farms, and his precarious tenure disinclines him from making any effective use of the land. In the second place, while all the best men are drafted up to London, little or none of the modern spirit has pervaded the country, and in consequence country life is recognised as very dull and subject to the many old feudal ideas which have been shattered in modern city life. Finally, land is largely bought and sold for other than economic reasons. A man who has made his money in towns wishes to obtain the prestige which adheres to a landed proprietor, and in consequence he buys an estate in the country. To him, the farms and the farm hands upon them are of little or no interest. He wants a sporting estate and broad acres which he can show to his friends. This is responsible for a great deal more of the want of cultivation in this country than is often supposed.

But even under our present Land Laws much may be done to open up the country where landlords and farmers work together with this object in view. An interesting example is provided by the estate of Mr. Keeble, of Waring Hall, in Norfolk, which is described in the *Times* of October 5th, 1907. The estate is 12,000 acres or about 20 square miles in extent, a large part of which was bought some years ago from the Duchy of Lancaster at the moderate price of £2. 17s. 6d. per acre. Mr. Keeble saw in the first place that the soil could be made valuable by a proper knowledge of agricultural chemistry. He also saw that what was needed was transport facilities. He accordingly attempted and carried through the daring experiment of constructing a private railway line as a business proposition.

Every farm on the estate debouches on to this unique private line by means of sidings at quarter-mile intervals. To get the full benefit of this arrangement the tenants must, of course, work together, and it is not the least of Mr. Keeble's feats that he has overcome the old prejudices and lack of mutual confidence which make British farmers in general so obstinately suspicious of co-operative methods. Here we must really quote the *Times* correspondent's own words :—

> The charge for agricultural produce from Downham and Abbey stations is 8s. 4d. per ton to London, or about 3s. 4d. more than the average charge for bringing similar produce from New York. The local growers, however, are able to work at a profit at this rate, if they avoid competition as much as possible. The Great Eastern Railway, it should be stated, go on the principle of keeping up high tariffs, but allowing many facilities. Thus, if the tenants of the Keeble estates can make up—as they frequently can—an amount of stuff for the London market amounting to 100 tons—say, 20 medium or 25 small trucks—the company will send a special engine to fetch this train, and give the resulting "special train" prompt passage to London, where the produce can be, and is, on sale by 5 a.m. Mr. Keeble has a salesman at King's Cross and another at Stratford (the goods station for Liverpool Street), whose services enable his tenants promptly to dispose of produce. All sales are telegraphed, and the local grower can have his cheque for the net result at any time he pleases. The private railway has a telephone running by the side of it and at its present terminus; at a wooden house in fields somewhere between Southery and Feltwell messages are received throughout the day. There is a time-table on this little line, not printed indeed, but painted on a notice-board. The train has a passenger coach, and farm labourers are saved all walking. The saving of exertion and fatigue that this free facility gives is beyond calculation, and the telephone prevents the remotest cottager from feeling isolated. In case of ill-health or other emergency communication is at hand, while the "market intelligence with prices made," which is wired to Mr. Keeble at Wereham by the London salesmen, is telephoned along the private line. It often decides the day's work, still more frequently the next day's; for these Fenland cultivators do not neglect the markets.

It reads—does it not ?—precisely like a chapter out of one of Mr. Wells's romances of the future. Here, indeed, is the agricultural community of the future actually realised before our eyes—a thriving business settlement, no

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longer bucolic and antiquated, but using all modern inventions to enable it to get the utmost for its labours, employing special trains to convey its produce to market, connecting its farms and its cottages by telephone, taking its labourers to work by rail, studying the prices and the needs of its customers like any country business man, holding its own, and beating its competitors, in spite not only of Free Trade but of a railway tariff which actually favours the American producer.

What Mr. Keeble has done could be done in a great many other cases; but, as a matter of fact, it is not done because landlords as a class are not working for the real development of their own land. This is the reason why the State has got to step in and do the thing for itself. At present in large parts of the country landlords are holding up land to prevent development of this character. The State has to break this monopoly by compelling the landlords to sell or to rent out their property.

Two alternatives are possible: The first is a creation of a number of small proprietors; the second is the ownership by the State or Local Authority with the institution of tenancies at fixed rents and with security of tenure. The objections to the former are as follows:—

> Firstly, the small tenants are not in a position to provide enough capital both to purchase the farm and to stock it and work it. If they were compelled therefore to buy, even though they borrow any part on mortgage, they are likely to starve their land of capital.
>
> Secondly, a considerable portion of small holders are not likely to be permanent; and under the proprietorship system these men sell out when they leave, and the land reverts to its former unsatisfactory position.
>
> And, thirdly, it is essential that the State shall preserve a certain amount of control over the new tenancies.

The system most to be recommended, therefore, is the second, namely, that of Public Ownership and Secure Tenancies. Coupled with this, every effort should be made to induce the tenants to co-operate both in their sales and, as far as possible, in their use of productive machinery. For this purpose Agricultural Banks which have succeeded so well in Ireland and in other places, are invaluable. It is because the Small Holdings Act of 1907 makes a small step in the direction of these reforms, that it rightly received the support of Social Reformers.

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LAND TAXATION (URBAN & SUBURBAN).

In the Session of 1907 the Government carried through the House of Commons a Bill for effecting a valuation of Scottish Land. The Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords; but it is understood that in 1908 the Government intend to introduce a measure on a larger scale dealing with the whole question.

The following considerations may be taken to be those influencing the community towards imposing a new site rate upon all land lying in and around towns:—

Firstly, the community possesses the broad general right to place a small new or additional burden upon any particular interest for the purpose of national or local advantage.

Secondly, land is in a special sense a monopoly because it is impossible to create more land, and therefore it should be the first monopoly form of wealth to be taxed for the benefit of the State.

Thirdly, the owners of urban and suburban land have received and continue to receive increases of value which are not due to any exertion or action on their part, but to causes over which they have no control.

Fourthly, one of the most important of these causes of increased value is, in point of fact, the expenditure of public authorities on improvements.

Fifthly, and of special importance, there is the right of the community to safeguard the life and health of the dwellers in towns at the expense of those who have grown and are growing rich out of town development.

Sixthly, the land tax, originally 4s. in the £, has been allowed to fall until it is now only three-quarters of a million on an annual rental estimated at 200 millions sterling.

Changes included in "Land Taxation."

The proposal which is regarded with the most favour, and which has the special backing of a large number of the municipalities throughout the country, consists in giving permission to local bodies to levy (in addition to their present rates) a special rate upon the site values.

Six special points should be noticed:—

(1) As the value of the site enters in some measure into the ordinary assessment for rates, and it is proposed that the two rates shall run concurrently, it will be seen that under the new proposal site value is rated twice over. This is as a matter of fact the actual intention; because it is deemed expedient that the site should pay a higher rate than the buildings which are upon it, since the site represents wealth and not industry, and is the principal recipient of the improvements effected by the municipality.

(2) The site value is a capital amount, and the rate may be either levied directly on that, or an annual assessment may be deduced (say by reckoning at 4 per cent.) and the rate based upon this figure. Of course it is merely a matter of arithmetic, a penny rate on the capital value would be equivalent to a 2s. 1d. rate on the annual. In the case of a site valued at £1,000, such a rate would work out at £4. 3s. 4d. a year.

(3) Parliament would probably fix from time to time a maximum value for this rate.

(4) Neither the site value nor its annual equivalent must be confused with the actual ground rent paid annually to the freeholder. No doubt when the original lease was drawn up the ground rent fixed was intended to be the annual equivalent of the then site value, but very probably in the interval between then and now its value has changed considerably, and if the lease is many years old, the site value may be worth two or three times what it was then.

(5) Again the owner of the site value must not be confused with the ground landlord. This will be understood at once in the case of a freeholder who has granted a perpetual lease or a lease for 999 years subject to a ground rent; such a man is no more the owner of the site value than is a mortgagee. And what is true of such a man is true also, so long as the lease continues in operation, of a lessor for a shorter term. But what is important to notice is that when the lease is up the ownership of the site value reverts to the landlord, and any improvement in the site value is thus ultimately a gain to him.

(6) The new rate upon site value will be collected in the first instance from the occupier, and he will not be able during the term of his lease to

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thrust it back upon his landlord. But it is proposed to introduce a clause in the Bill directing that at the determination of any lease at present running the rate upon site value shall be paid by the landlord.

The Effect of these Changes.

In considering the effect of this proposal, it will be convenient to divide rateable property into two classes—Class 1, that which has been assessed hitherto at something like its true value, consisting mainly of land inside the towns which is already built over and occupied; and Class 2, that which has escaped hitherto with an assessment far below its true value, consisting mainly of the uncovered or unoccupied land which lies in a belt round all growing towns.

Let us now suppose that before the change, the old rate stood at 5s. in the £, that now a rate of 1s. in the £ is to be levied upon the annual equivalent of the site value, and that simultaneously it is found possible to relieve the old rate to the amount of 4d. in the £, reducing it therefore to 4s. 8d.

The effect upon property belonging to Class 1 will best be understood by considering the changes in the rates levied upon four properties A, B, C, D, each originally assessed at £480 a year, but differing to the extent in which this sum was attributable, whether mainly to the value of the site, or mainly to the value of the buildings placed thereon. Under the old system each paid a rate of 5s. in the £, or £120 in all. Under the new system their rates would be determined as follows:—

	A	B	C	D
	£	£	£	£
Site value (annual)	40	100	200	300
Buildings (annual)	440	380	280	180
Total .....£	480	480	480	480
General rate at 4s. 8d...	112	112	112	112
Site rate at 1s.....	2	5	10	15
Total rate.....£	114	117	122	127

So that the rates of A will be lowered £6, and of B £3, while C will be increased £2 and D £7, a total change in the extreme case equivalent to a change in rate under the old system of 3½d. in the £.

As the new rate is to be paid in the first instance by the same individuals who were paying the old rates, the immediate effect will be to reduce the burden of the ratepayers on account of land of which the site value is low, and to increase those where the site value is high—that is to say, to diminish the burdens upon ratepayers for houses and shops in the outskirts—a very desirable consummation, and to increase those of offices, shops, banks, and houses in the centres of towns.

The Effect on the Outskirts.

Turning now to Clause 2, which consists mainly of land not built over, lying partly in and partly outside the outskirts of all towns, the effect on this class of the imposition of the new site value rate will be to increase in all cases the amount of its contribution to the community. This effect will be accentuated if, at the same time or subsequently, such property be assessed for the purpose of the ordinary rate at its true instead of a fictitious value, as it is at present.

The owners of such land, thus confronted with an increased burden, will be tempted to build on the land or to sell it for the purpose of building; as a result, building in these areas will take place at a greatly accelerated rate. This sudden activity will be partly good and part evil.

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On the one hand, the number of new workmen's houses built will put an end to the "house famine" which exists to-day in many large towns. Rents will fall. People will come out from the crowded tenements inside the towns to live in the new buildings. Overcrowding per room will be diminished.

On the other hand, there is a serious danger that unless certain precautions be taken the passing of the Act will accentuate and increase the evils of city growth which already exist to-day, and with which hitherto no proper attempt has been made to deal. The evil has to be met by the appointment of new administrative councils, whose revenues will be fed by the new site rate. (See article on Town Planning, page 108.)

English League for the Taxation of Land Values.

President: W. R. LESTER, M.A. *Hon. Treasurer:* LEWIS H. BERENS.
Monthly Paper: "LAND VALUES" (One Penny, 1s. 6d. per annum.)
Gen. Secretary: FREDK. VERINDER. *Offices:* 376-377, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

The object of this League is sufficiently explained by its title. During the past year the spread of its principles has been most gratifying to its officials. The Literature Department has been kept continuously busy. Recent publications: "The Story of My Dictatorship," League's special edition, Paper 6d., Cloth 1s., post free, of which 15.000 copies have been published; New editions of Henry George's classical pamphlets, "The Crime of Poverty" (2d.), "Thou Shalt not Steal" (1d.), "Thy Kingdom Come" (1d.), "Moses" (1d.), "Land and People" (1d.), "Scotland and Scotsmen" (1d.); of Grant Allen's, "Individualism and Socialism" (1d.); and of F. Verinder's, "Just Basis of Taxation,' of which altogether nearly 50,000 copies have been published. Complete set of pamphlets can be had on application, 2s., post free.

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MEDICAL INSPECTION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

MEDICAL inspection is wanted in the schools of the nation to-day for two reasons: Firstly, because a great many children are ill from preventable causes, and, secondly, because many who are not actually ill could be made much better and much more capable of profiting by instruction. A recent Royal Commission, which was appointed to enquire into the condition of school children, reported a very serious state of affairs. In Edinburgh one school doctor found 700 cases of neglected and even unrecognised phthisis. Again, 13,000 of the children attending school had heart disease and there were 15,000 cases of throat disease. Similar facts apply to other towns. In Hanwell, Mr. Cheadle examined the state of the ears, throat and nose of 1,000 school children between the ages of three and 16. Of the children examined, only 341, or 34 per cent., had normal ears and hearing, and 449, or 45 per cent. were suffering from adenoids in some form or other.

A Blue Book was issued in August, 1907, which gave some facts bearing on the physique of the school children of Glasgow. It was found that at the age of 10 years the average weight of the boy in the lowest grade school was 10·8lbs. below the standard, and the average height 2·9 below the standard. At the age of 13 these figures had become 11·1lbs. and 3·1in. for the boys, and for the girls as much as 14·3lbs. and 3·4in.

Other figures relating to stunted growth will be found in the article on "Feeding of School Children," page 94.

Again, many cases of injury to health may be traced to a want of cleanliness. In one London school, which is, of course, typical of many, the school doctors declared 11 per cent. of the children to be "dirty and verminous," and 34 per cent. "dirty in body and clothes," that is to say, 45 per cent. were unfit to sit beside clean children. There were only 12 per cent. of the children in this school who might be described as clean, that is to say, as clean as their neighbours would allow them to be.

What Germany is Doing.

The first step in dealing with this situation is to have a regular system of medical inspection in the schools. In several other countries, this inspection is already carried on effectively. In Hungary, ever since 1887, the Government has had a system of medical inspection; but it is in Germany that this system is carried out on the largest scale to-day. In 1891 Leipsic engaged the first German school doctor. In 1893 Dresden followed her example. At that time Germany was not more forward than England, for in 1891 the London School Board engaged its first school doctor, and in 1893 at Bradford Dr. Kerr entered on his half-time duties as medical adviser of the School Board of that city. But while England has remained stationary, employing only a few doctors, and those giving only half or quarter time to the work, Germany has gone ahead.

The Duties of the School Doctor.

It was supposed in the first place that the duties of the doctor would consist of inspecting school buildings, but this idea rapidly extended, and in Wiesbaden, where the idea of the school doctor found special favour, it was soon seen that the work which he would have to do would be of a very varied character. How the system works will be seen from the following. Wiesbaden not only respects the rights of parents; it takes them entirely into its confidence. A circular is sent out to every parent in the first year of every child's school life.

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It is a confidential letter (very unlike the leaflets issued from time to time by the British educational authorities). It runs as follows :—

> For the better protection of the health of children attending the public schools, school doctors have been engaged to undertake the medical inspection of children on entering school, to be responsible for their health as long as they attend school, and responsible, too, for the building itself from the point of view of the scholar's health.
>
> These provisions will be of great use both to the children and their parents. In the course of his education, much will be learned with regard to the health and bodily condition of each child, and this new knowledge, which is being gained now for the first time, the school doctors will put at the disposal of the parents, with whom henceforward they will work in the interests of the children.
>
> Parents who, however, do not wish that their children should be examined by school doctors have a right to exempt them, as the new provisions do not refer to educational matters that are in any way compulsory. Such parents, however, must furnish the necessary information from their own doctor.

When the child first comes to the school there is a medical examination, only occupying seven or eight minutes in the case of healthy children, but extending to half-an-hour or more when children are evidently out of health. Those who are ill are inspected regularly, and the teacher and the parent is kept in touch with the health of the child. There are further medical examinations at the end of every year, and the doctor is also in constant attendance inspecting and advising the children.

Altogether in Germany there are between 600 and 700 such doctors. It is too soon to be able to give any statistics of definite results of the system, but it is generally recognised that it has been highly beneficial. Among the things which have been done in consequence is the introduction of school bathing, and it has been found that the cleanliness of the children is thereby brought about. In Mannheim only 1·8 per cent. of all the children have to be classed as not clean, and this in its turn has produced a valuable effect in preserving from ill-health.

Other Countries.

In America they are beginning to adopt similar measures, and in consequence great improvements in health of the children have come about. Thus the report of Dr. Thomas Darlington (1905) shows that whereas in 1903 there were 32,525 children excluded for eye diseases, the number fell in 1905 to 8,883, and that the number of contagious skin diseases fell from 4,000 to 2,018.

In Japan similar progress is being made. In 1899 the number of school doctors was 2,906, but in 1903-4 the number had risen to 4,941, and the Government grant for medical inspection was over £32,000 per annum.

It is quite time that England tried to put herself into line with what is being done in other countries, so that race degeneration may be stayed, and that a race of healthy children may be built up capable of taking advantage of the facilities for improved developments which are evident all around.

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MUNICIPAL MILK SUPPLY.

A PURE and cheap milk supply is important for everyone, but above all for infants wherever artificial feeding has to be adopted, especially in factory districts. The Physical Deterioration Committee's Report (p. 52) says that evidence showed it to be "next to impossible" to ensure a good milk supply, especially to the poorer classes. The evidence of a number of hospital managers, medical officers, and other medical men, showed that farm dairies were often in filthy conditions, cowsheds overcrowded, unventilated, undrained, and no guarantee that cows were healthy (par. 271-276). Dr. Newman, Finsbury medical officer, said that of milk examined by him in 1903 there was 32 per cent. contained diseased matter and 40 per cent. contained dirt. Epidemics of typhoid, scarlet fever, and diphtheria are frequently traced to the milk supply. It is also one of the most common agents of spreading tuberculosis.

The Royal Commission on Tuberculosis, which issued a report early in 1907, said:—"A very considerable amount of disease and loss of life, especially among the young, must be attributed to the consumption of cows' milk containing tubercle bacilli. Our results clearly point to the necessity of measures more stringent than those at present enforced being taken to prevent the sale or the consumption of such milk."

No measures, however stringent, can successfully protect the mass of consumers unless every pint of milk is inspected. If this is to be done, why not inspect the milk which is coming from our own farms, instead of bearing all the expense of ensuring purity and letting private individuals and companies reap the profits?

The futility of the present methods was shown by Dr. G. Quin Lennane, Medical Officer of Health for Battersea, in his annual report, 1907, where he gives the case of a Battersea milk seller who changed his address five times in five years, and during that time evaded all efforts to catch and convict him of suspected adulteration. Having at last been caught and convicted, he made his barrowmen register in their own names. When caught they were fined £2 and costs as first offenders. He had only then to get new men and register them. After much difficulty he was caught in the act. A sample seized was found to be a mixture of unsweetened condensed milk, separated milk, with 9·45 per cent. above maximum water allowance and 3·75 grains of boric acid. When prosecuted, the man absconded, and is believed to be himself carrying on his nefarious business through twelve barrowmen who are all now registered, eight of them having been convicted.

Not only is milk commonly dirty and poisoned by boric acid, formalin, and other preservatives, but it is adulterated by water to an alarming extent. A special examination in Clerkenwell during summer months resulted in 47 per cent. of adulterated samples, one of which had 90 per cent. of the nutritive qualities removed, and an extra 23 per cent. of water added.

Dr. Lennane, in the report already quoted, says that Londoners pay at least £30,000 a year for added water in milk. He adds:—

"When it is remembered that it is the custom for mothers to dilute milk for their babies under the impression that they are dealing with honest milk, it is not difficult to imagine how many infants are systematically and slowly starved through this dishonest and criminal practice."

Battersea, Burnley, Liverpool, St. Helens, and other towns already undertake the supply of sterilised milk in sealed bottles, with the result in each case of a heavy fall in the infant death rate.

The cost of this great reform is comparatively small. In Burnley it is between two and three hundred pounds, the milk being always sold below cost price.

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In Liverpool the whole expenditure was only £3,200, of which £1,250 was recovered by the proceeds of sales. But the supply of milk in this way is bound to result in loss, and great as is the good being done, adults and school children are not affected.

The Municipal Councils should be empowered to enter upon dairy farming and supply the milk of their towns. Most of those towns which have had occasion to undertake farming in order to reduce the loss on land acquired for filtration purposes have been surprisingly successful, despite of difficulties which would not occur in connection with direct dairy-farming. Bedford, Coventry, Keighley, and Norwich dairy farms all contribute to the cost of filtration, the latter city selling dairy produce and poultry to the amount of £3,055; Abingdon pays its way with the aid of produce sales; Croydon even contributes to the reduction of the rates.

So important is the question of a pure milk supply, and so expensive and ineffective is any system of its inspection, that it should no longer be left as a subject of private profit-making.

Meanwhile depôts for the sale of milk for infants should exist in every town. There has been a question as to the legality of these depôts in the case of the London Boroughs, and the London Reform Union drafted and promoted a Bill in 1906, but on the undertaking of the President of the Local Government Board to deal with the matter the Bill, which had been introduced by Messrs. Seaverus and Chiozza-Money, was dropped. In 1907 the Government introduced a Bill, but they did not carry it through.

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MUNICIPAL TRADING.

THE term "Reproductive Undertakings," used for what is more commonly called "Municipal Trading," covers two classes of undertaking. On the one hand there are enterprises which have been started solely with a view to publ c health or comfort, such as a water supply, baths, wash-houses, slaughter-houseis, and cemeteries. On the other hand, there are such enterprises as gas, electricity, telephones, and tramways, which a municipality is expected to make pay their way.

It is true that here and there might be found a public baths or a cemetery which paid its way, whilst in certain cases a gas supply or a tramway service—*e.g.*, Plymouth and Huddersfield—is undertaken because no efficient private service can be obtained, and is continued by the municipality for the public benefit, without regard to profit or loss. But despite these exceptions, there is in Municipal practice a well-recognised line between the two classes of reproductive undertakings.

We shall divide the results of Municipal reproductive concerns in England and Wales under the two heads "Profitable" and "Non-profitable," which answers to the distinction already made. "Housing," although often a part of a town's improvement, is intended to pay, as are model lodging-houses.

The total of expenditure given covers working expenses, interest, sinking fund, depreciation, reserve, and every item of cost, the balance being net profits

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available to relief of rates. The figures are extracted from the returns for 1903-4, not all of 1904-5 being yet available.

Profitable Undertakings—England and Wales.

	Receipts.	Total Expenditure.	Net Profit.
	£	£	£
Electricity	2,265 901	2.193,366	72,535
Gas	7,385,850	6.631,251	754,599
Housing	271,744	164,617	107,127
Markets	928,296	819,058	109,238
Telephones	9,918	8,375	1,543
Trams	4,779,470	4,255,633	523,837
Net Profit			£1,568,879

Non-Profitable Undertakings.

	Receipts.	Total Expenditure.	Net Deficit.
	£	£	£
Baths and Wash-houses	264,901	515,588	250,687
Cemeteries, Mortuaries	390 320	634 974	244,654
Harbours, Docks, &c.	3,298,170	3,506,617	208,447
Slaughter-houses	39,896	44,675	4,779
Water	4,293,780	4,672,342	375,562
Net Loss			£1,084,129
Net Profit on all Undertakings			£484,750

It will be seen, then, that the profitable undertakings pay the whole of the trading loss on the non-profitable undertakings, as well as their interest, sinking fund, depreciation, reserve, &c., and hand over nearly half a million pounds towards the other expenses of local government.

The opponents of "Municipal Trading" do not propose that the Municipality should give up the non-profitable undertakings, since obviously no commercial company would undertake them. They make it quite clear, indeed, that their objection is to the public bodies competing with private enterprise.

Therefore, if they had had their way and profitable Municipal Trading had been abandoned the rates of England and Wales would have been higher by £1,568,879. It is, of course, impossible to estimate what would have been paid for higher fares, rents, and other charges.

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THE NATIONAL REFORM INSTITUTE.

Formation of a Provisional Committee.

DEFINITE steps have now been taken to promote the establishment in London of a National Centre for Social Reformers. A preliminary meeting was held on May 10th, 1907, in the London School of Economics, at which a Provisional Committee was elected to consider the desirability and the feasibility of establishing such an Institute. After extended inquiries and deliberations a report was presented showing the great need of a central rallying place of progressive forces, and proposing the raising of an Organising Fund of at least £200 a year to meet the necessary expenses.

Accordingly, a general appeal has been issued for donations and subscriptions towards this Organising Fund. A temporary office has been found at 6, Plowden Buildings, Temple, London, E.C., to which address all correspondence should be sent, either to "The Secretary, National Reform Institute," or to F. Pellatt Elkington, Esq., Treasurer.

Appeal for Subscriptions.

The Appeal, which is signed on behalf of the Provisional Committee by the Secretary and Treasurer, is as follows :—

"Dear Sir (or Madam),

Its Objects.—May we call your attention to the efforts now being made to establish a National Reform Institute ? The chief aim of the promoters is to provide a rallying place and centre for the various social reform movements by the erection and endowment in London of a building specially designed and equipped for the purpose. The Institute is to be permanently dedicated to the cause of human progress and regeneration, and should be worthy in every respect of so great a destiny. There exists at present no national monument to this, the most characteristic movement of our day.

Its Need.—As a result of an extended investigation amongst Trade Unions and Reform Societies, the Provisional Committee is satisfied that such an Institute is much needed, and that its establishment would be warmly and widely welcomed.

Its Advantages.—The Institute would provide Offices for the various Social Reform and Trade Union Societies, large Assembly Halls, Committee Rooms, &c. Instead of being scattered over an ever-increasing area, the different sections of the progressive forces would thus be brought under one roof. To workers and students in the various social reform movements the many advantages of such an Institute will be obvious.

The Institute would be in a position to render valuable service to the reforming activities of the nation :—

(*a*) It would prevent overlapping and waste of social effort.
(*b*) It would strengthen all existing reform agencies and societies.
(*c*) It would promote co-operation between them by co-ordinating their work.
(*d*) It would make them more efficient by economising space, time, labour, and expense.
(*e*) It would supply a Reading Room, an Information Bureau, a Social Rendezvous, and a Club and Restaurant for social workers.
(*f*) It would also render available for reformers the most complete sociological reference library extant, by bringing together the collections of numerous societies and individuals.
(*g*) It would lighten the work of those engaged in every field of social

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reform, giving them more heart and energy for dealing with various social problems, to the right solution of which they are devoting their lives.

The growing consciousness of the need of social regeneration demands fitting recognition in our national life. It could hardly find better expression than that afforded by such an Institute.

Propaganda.—The Committee invites the names of sympathisers to whom copies of this appeal and explanatory leaflets may be sent. It is hoped that sympathisers will arrange meetings for the discussion and promotion of the scheme, which a member of the Committee would attend.

Appeal for Funds.—As an initial step to the realisation of the scheme, an Organising Fund is now being raised, towards which several donations have already been received. Sympathisers with all reform movements are asked to contribute to this Fund. Cheques, &c., may be made payable to the Treasurer.

We sincerely trust that you will do all in your power to further this movement, either by a Donation towards the Organising Fund, or by an Annual Subscription as a Member of the Institute."

Should this appeal meet with a satisfactory response, the next step will be the calling of a public Conference of individuals and societies interested, and the election of a Representative Committee, whose main work would be to carry on a strong educational campaign, and to raise the large Endowment Fund needed before actual operations can be commenced.

The three previous articles, reprinted from the 1905, 1906, and 1907 "Year Books," have been issued as "N.R.I. leaflets"; Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Copies of these, and of the Appeal and forms of subscription, will gladly be sent free by the Secretary to all sympathetic enquirers. The services of volunteer workers of all kinds, as founders and organisers, will be welcomed at any time by the Committee.

JOSEPH EDWARDS.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

IT is now 14 years since the question of old-age pensions was brought into the realm of practical politics, and at last a definite attempt is to be made in the Budget of 1908 to deal with this question. The exact words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were as follows:—

> Whatever is done in this matter, as I have said before in this House, must be done by steps and stages, and cannot be achieved at a single blow. But this I do say, and I wish to say it with all the emphasis of which I am capable, speaking for the whole of my colleagues who sit upon this bench, that in the sphere of finance we regard this as the most serious and the most urgent of all the demands for social reform; and that it is our hope—I will go further, and say it is our intention—before the close of this Parliament—yes, before the close of the next Session of this Parliament, if we are allowed to have our way—it is a large "if"—to lay firm the foundations of this reform.

By the large "if" Mr. Asquith no doubt intended to infer that he expects opposition from the House of Lords.

There are three possible schemes: (1) Contributory; (2) Partial; (3) Universal.

(1) It has been suggested Old-age Pensions might be given on a contributory basis. In this way the individuals who will subsequently receive them are expected to pay either the whole or part of the cost by contributing to the

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fund in their earlier years. Schemes such as this exist in connection with Friendly Societies, with some Trade Unions, and with some business firms; it is suggested that a scheme should now be started by the State. Off-hand, this proposal sounds highly desirable. But the difficulty of it consists in the fact that the poorest men and women, who are most in need of a pension when they grow old, are totally unable to contribute in this manner. According to the well-known figures of Mr. Chas. Booth, 30 per cent. of the whole population of London are on or below the poverty line of incomes, not exceeding a guinea a week per family. Mr. Rowntree found that the average wage for a labourer in York is from 18s. to 21s., whereas the minimum expenditure necessary to maintain in a state of physical efficiency a family of two adults and three children is 21s. 8d. From these figures it is evident that for a man or woman to save out of their scanty earnings for a problematic old age, is to deprive their children of the necessaries of life. The result, therefore, of any contributory scheme, whether it was a national scheme going direct to the individuals, or in some way financing the Friendly Societies, would be that the higher classes of working people would get pensions, but that the great mass of unskilled labourers would be left in their present deplorable condition when they grew to be old.

(2) Partial Scheme. The best-known partial scheme is that of Mr. Chaplin's Committee of 1899. The Committee stated that in their opinion it was practicable to create a workable system of Old-age Pensions for the United Kingdom and that the general lines upon which such a scheme might be framed would be one under which any person 65 years of age, being a British subject, would be entitled to a pension, subject to the following conditions:—

(*a*) that he had not been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment within the previous 20 years;
(*b*) that he had not received poor relief during the previous 20 years.
(*c*) that he had not an income of more than 10s. a week;
(*d*) that he had been thrifty and provident.

The Committee suggested that the cost should be borne by the poor rate with a contribution from imperial sources; that the pensions should be of from 5s. to 7s. a week; and that they should be paid through the Post Office.

The cost of this scheme, taking into account the population of 1907 throughout the United Kingdom, would work out somewhat as follows: —

Estimated number of persons over 65 in 1907		2,116,267
Deduct:—		
1.—With incomes over 10s.	778,283	
2.—For paupers	541,682	
3.—For aliens, criminals, and lunatics	33,661	
Thriftless	76,185	
Total deductions		1,429,811
Estimated number of pensionable persons		686,456
Estimated cost at 5s. a week each, and including 3 per cent. for expenses..		£10,780,000

This scheme has been rejected by all bodies representing working-class opinion. It is objectionable on several grounds:—Firstly, it is felt that a man should not be penalised from receiving the Government grant because owing to his own thrift he has succeeded in reserving for himself 10s. a week. Secondly, in view of the difficulty of finding work many, perhaps the bulk of the unskilled labouring class, will have been forced to seek poor relief sometime during the 20 years preceding their attaining the age of 65. And, thirdly, because the clause requiring the applicant to have been thrifty and provident suggests an inquisition which interferes with the liberty of the subject.

(3) Universal Old-age Pensions. The third scheme, which is recommended by Mr. Charles Booth and which has the support of the Trade Union Congress

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and other representative working-class organisations, is that of Universal Old-age Pensions of 5s. a week. It is believed that though this sum will not be sufficient to enable an old man or woman to live by themselves, it will make it possible for them to live with their relatives or friends without being an undue burden. Moreover, this is the only scheme by which the great mass of the unskilled labourers will come into a pension. The condition of these people at the present day is altogether unworthy of the wealthy nation to which they belong. In the report of the Royal Commission of the Aged Poor, issued in 1895, the following statement is made :—

> In round figures, three in ten of the total population above 65 are compelled to apply for parish relief during the 12 months. The significance of these figures is increased when we remember that probably one-third of the population belong to the well-to-do classes, which do not furnish many additions to the list of paupers. If we deduct them from the calculation, the proportion of paupers over 65 to the total population over that age, and below the well-to-do, *will not be less than three out of seven, or nearly one in two.* We are also impressed with the fact that there is, in addition to the number of actual paupers, large numbers of persons who are always just removed from pauperism, and who endure great privations in order to keep off the rates. We also agree that the imputation that old age pauperism is mainly due to drink, idleness, improvidence, and the like causes, applies to but a very small proportion of the working-class population.

According to the report then, nearly one-half of the aged members of the working class have to accept parish relief, and it is probable that if we discriminate between the skilled (comparatively well-paid workman) and the unskilled workman, an overwhelming proportion of the latter do not escape the portals of the workhouse.

Cost of Universal Scheme.

The total number of persons aged 65 and upwards in 1907 being estimated at 2,116,000, the cost of granting a pension of 5s. a week to all persons of this age without distinction would at the outset amount for the United Kingdom to £27,508,000, apart from the cost of administration.

This would be the cost assuming that every person over 65—rich, poor, pauper, imbecile—claimed the pension.

Very considerable deductions, however, must be made. Mr. Philip Snowden estimates that one-third, at least, of the persons over 65 are well-to-do, many exceedingly well off. Some of these would doubtless claim the pension, if only to add to the income of some poor friend or dependant. But allowing for those of the well-to-do who would take the pension, a very large deduction, not less than 500,000, might safely be made. Then, of the present public pensioners, many will be over 65, and would therefore be deducted.

Deducting, therefore,

	500,000 rich, who would not claim,
	80,000 public pensioners (one-third as over 65),
	70,000 indoor paupers,
	34,000 criminals, aliens, and lunatics,
Total	684,000

the number of probable pensioners is reduced to 1,432,267. This is the utmost number which could reasonably be expected to claim under a universal scheme. The cost of this at £13 a year (5s. a week) would be £18,619,471, which with 3 per cent. added for cost of administration would bring the total cost to £19,000,000 (round figures). But against this must be set the saving of the rates on account of some of the poor relief. It is difficult to say how much of the indoor relief would be affected, but the whole of the outdoor relief to persons over 65, which amounts to £1,858,000, could be saved, and it is safe

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to say that the total saving would not be less than £200,000. Thus the net increased call on the public purse would be about 17 millions sterling.

Objections to the Scheme.

Two objections to the scheme are usually put forward: Firstly, that the giving of pensions would injure the character of the people and, secondly, that the money cannot be found. With regard to the first, it is sufficient to point out that 10 millions of pensions are already given to some 200,000 public pensioners, and that in their case it is not suggested that the character of the recipients is injured. In the second place, with regard to the finances, a nation which has an income of nearly 2,000 millions sterling ought to be able to find some 15 millions for the purpose of providing pensions for those who have worked during their life. And it must be remembered that the money so spent in pensions will not be unproductive. It will go to provide the necessaries of life, and some small comforts for the old people, and in so doing will greatly increase the inland trade of the country.

The following pensions are given in our Colonies to all persons whose income fell below a certain figure:—

	Maximum Weekly Pension.	Number of Pensioners.	Total Charge Per Annum.
New Zealand	10/-	11,770	£325,000
New South Wales	10/-	22,000	508,000
Victoria	8/-	11,452	205,000

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THE POOR LAW.

THE body of our Poor Law is based upon the Act of Elizabeth (1601) as interpreted by the Act of 1835. The "relief of the poor" is administered by Guardians of the Poor—in Scotland called Parish Councillors—under the direction of the Local Government Board, which was constructed in 1871 out of the old Poor Law Board.

The Local Government Board has power to group Boards of Guardians into "Unions" and to issue rules, regulations, and general orders, both as to the spirit and details of the Guardians' work. In course of time these orders and rules have considerably modified the theories which inspired those who framed the 1835 Act. The original interpretation of the Act was that no discrimination was possible, and that destitution was all that constituted a claim. Boards of Guardians exist, theoretically, to relieve destitution, but not to prevent it. In practice, the example of a few Boards—notably, that of Poplar—and the pressure of public opinion, have led to considerable modifications of this theory. Theoretically, no relief must be given to an able-bodied male person employed for any remuneration; all able-bodied persons must be set to, and kept at, work whilst in receipt of relief; and outdoor relief must consist of

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not less than one-half in kind. In practice, cases of sickness or accident, or of bodily and mental infirmity, or other urgent distress in a man's family, are made exceptions. In some cases money is advanced as a loan. Moreover, the feeding of school children does not now necessarily pauperise.

PERSONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IN RECEIPT OF RELIEF, EXCLUSIVE OF CASUAL PAUPERS, ON ONE DAY IN SUMMER, 1905, AND ONE DAY IN WINTER, 1906.

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.	Per 1,000 of Population.
Summer, 1905 ..	854,857	107,860	112,520	1,075,237	24·9
Winter, 1906.. ..	909,918	111,202	103,302	1,124,422	25·9
Mean Number ..	882,382	109,531	107,911	1,099,829	25·4

The figures for England and Wales should be increased by about 14,800 "Casuals" for Summer, 1905; and 16,800 "Casuals" for Winter, 1906; or a mean of 15,800.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

The persons relieved in England and Wales, taking the mean of the figures given above and including casuals, may be classed as follows:—

Indoor.	Outdoor.	Casual.	Insane in Workhouse.	Insane in Asylums, &c.	Total Mean Number.
229,724	545,141	15,800	22,500	85,500	898,665
Per cent. 25·5	60·7	1·8	2·5	9·5	100

Able-Bodied and not Able-Bodied.

A further analysis has been made of the recipients of indoor and outdoor relief in England and Wales—that is, excepting the casual and insane—and is here given in round numbers:—

MEAN NUMBER OF PERSONS, EXCLUDING CASUAL AND INSANE, IN RECEIPT OF POOR RELIEF IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1905-6.

	Men.			Women.			Children under 16	Totals.
	Able-bodied.	Not Able-bodied.	Total.	Able-bodied.	Not Able-bodied.	Total.		
	— 000's	— 000's	— 000's	— 000's	— 000's	— 000's	— 000's	— 000's
Indoor	26	76	102	21	49	70	58	230
Outdoor	16	86	102	54	214	268	75	545
Total	42	162	204	75	263	338	233	775
Pr. cent. of whole	5·5	20·9	26·4	9·7	33·9	43·6	30·0	100

We see from the above that of able-bodied persons receiving outdoor relief, 54,000, or 77 per cent., were women, and 16,000, or 23 per cent., were men. Of the women, about 35,000 were widows, and the majority of the remainder were wives of able-bodied paupers. The balance includes wives of soldiers and sailors, wives of prisoners, women deserted by husbands or lovers, and

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sundry others. Of the men, about 88 per cent. were cases of sudden necessity, or of sickness, accident, or death in family.

As already pointed out, the number of different persons driven to seek relief in the course of a year, is certainly more than twice the mean number for the year.

Cost of Poor Law.

In 1904-5 the total cost of administering poor relief, and of all matters connected therewith, was :—

England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
£13,851,981	£1,402,354	£1,253,355	£16,507,690

The cost per head of the mean number of persons relieved was £14. 19s. ; being an increase of £4. 5s. per head as compared with 1892-3. As the rate of increase has been fairly uniform during the twelve years, the following comparison will be useful :—

	Mean Number of Paupers in the United Kingdom.	Poor Law Expenditure.	Cost per head of Persons Relieved.
1902-3	953,466	£11,182,051	£11. 14s. 0d.
1904-5	1,101,403	£16,507,690	£15. 19s. 0d.
Increase	147,937	£5,325,639	£4. 5s. 0d.
Per cent.	15·4	47·7	36·3

Necessity for Reform.

The administration of the Poor Law is hopelessly infected with the taint of "charity"—a compulsory charity levied upon one race, the "ratepayers," for the benefit of another race, "the poor." It has, moreover, a past of bad repute, notably in the way of corruption as to contracts.

Against these serious disadvantages there is no advantage to be found in the present Poor Law or its administration by specially-elected bodies of Guardians. The best that could be made of the Guardians' work has been made in Poplar, and one or two other boroughs, but the result has been that which often follows from trying to work an old machine upon new methods. The Poor Law is beyond being humanised with likelihood of satisfactory results.

The Tables given above, showing the classes with which the Poor Law deals, reveal how easily the present methods of administration might be dispensed with, and how little the Boards of Guardians can claim that there are any of their present functions which they are especially qualified to fulfil. Indeed, the whole of their functions may be classed as (*a*) those which obviously they ought no longer to fulfil, such as the making and raising of rates ; (*b*) those which overlap with the work of other authorities, such as the education of children ; (*c*) those which could be as well or better fulfilled by other existing authorities, such as dealing with mendicants. Their powers could be distributed as follows :—

(1) The responsibility for the important duty of making and raising of rates should fall upon the sanitary authorities, saving duplication of accounts and expenditure, and much irritation which now arises.

(2) There is no need to have separate Poor-Law schools, Poor-Law hospitals, and Poor-Law asylums. There is nothing to justify this needless expense.

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(3) The expense of supporting aged persons through the Poor Law is far in excess of what it would be by means of a pension or comfortable quarters in (say) suitable municipal cottage homes.

(4) The army of children should above all be kept clear of the unfortunate atmosphere of the Poor Law. They might well be in the hands of a special branch of the Board of Education, working through the local Education Committees. The Act for the feeding of necessitous school children has been rendered almost a dead letter by the clumsy expedient of making two authorities responsible.

(5) The organisation of the unemployed should be the work of Municipal Councils alone. The Unemployed Act, like the School Meals' Act, has been almost rendered nugatory by the attempt to make a joint machinery of Guardians and Town Councils.

(6) With genuine Labour Bureaux and organisation of Unemployed Labour, the *bona-fide* "out-of-work" or tramp would no longer have to sacrifice citizenship for a meal and a night's lodging.

(7) The professional mendicant may be left to the police. Forced labour, if it exists at all, should be frankly penal, not disguised under the sacred name of Charity.

(8) The Out-relief would need a special body to deal with it—probably a Committee of the Council, with considerable powers of co-option. In rural districts the Councillors and the Guardians are now the same persons, and therefore those Guardians into whose hands falls the superintendence of the giving of out-relief are practically a Committee of the Council. This is found to work very well.

There is no part of the Guardians' work which more urgently needs taking from them than this delicate task of administering what is called "out-relief."

The confusion and overlapping of functions, the taint of pauperism, "Bumbledom," and contract scandals, the immense establishment expenses, the little interest taken in the Guardians' elections, all these condemn the present administration of the Poor Law. The Guardians must go. We must sweep out this nasty corner of our civic life, and let the light and sweetness into our dealings with sickness and accident, folly and misfortune, deserted childhood and infirm old age.

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RAILWAYS, NATIONALISATION OF.

THE United States, Great Britain, and Canada are the only important powers not owning their railway lines. The majority of countries also *control* their own lines. In France, some of the most important lines are yet under lease, but as the leases fall in are taken over by the State. Italy within recent years, dissatisfied with the lessee companies, has taken over its own railway management. All the important lines of Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, and Russia are State managed. All the lines of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, and Ceylon are State owned and managed.

There is a growing movement in Great Britain in favour of Railway Nationalisation. Every Chamber of Commerce, Agricultural Chamber, and Trades Council supports this demand. A large majority of members of Parliament favour it.

The following facts will be found interesting and useful.

An article upon *The Railwaymen's Movement* (p. 179) deals with the questions affecting the British railways as employers of labour.

I.—RAILWAY MANAGEMENT AND FINANCE.

There are 23,000 miles of railway in the United Kingdom. This is owned by 51 separate companies, although practically controlled by less than a dozen great companies whose influence is paramount in the railway "conferences," yet the whole of these separate companies not only has each its Board of Directors, but some have Boards at the head of each main department of work. There are altogether 250 of these Boards of Directors, with a total of 3,000 members, which strikes one of the notes of British railway management—namely, a gross excess of superintendence.

The railways carry 1,200,000,000 passengers per annum, exclusive of season ticket holders, and receive nearly £48,700,000 in fares; the goods freights amount to £56,400,000, and £8,400,000 is received from harbours, hotels, steamboats, &c., making the total receipts £113,500,000.

Receipts and Expenditure.

The following figures are from the complete returns for 1905:—

Length of Line.	Total Receipts.	Average Receipts.		Working Expenses.	Net Receipts.*	Percentage of Expenses to Gross Receipts.
		Per train mile.	Per mile of line.			
Miles.	£	£	£	£	£	
22,847	113,531,000	62 93	4,601	70,064,663	43,466,356	62

* Distributed in interest to bankers and debenture holders and dividends to ordinary, preferential, and guarantee share-holders.

"Watered" Capital.

The capital on behalf of which this great annual tribute of £43,000,000 is levied nominally amounts to £1,282,000,000, of which, however, £194,000,000 is mere book manipulation, or "watered" capital, as it is called; that is to say, stocks and shares written up in nominal value by that amount. This is done for various reasons, probably the principal of which is make the dividends appear smaller, thus furnishing a strong argument against increases of wages or reduction of freights and fares.

In 1889 the Taff Vale Railway received permission from Parliament to issue

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£250 of new stock for each original £100. This was improving on the precedent of other companies which had issued £200 shares for £100.

Capital, Cost Per Mile, and Dividends.

The following figures also refer to 1905 :—

		Average per mile of line.	Average Dividend and Interest per cent.
Nominal Capital	£1,282,801,000	£55,774	3·43
Watered ,, ...	£194,341,000	£8,450	—
Actual Capital	£1,088,460,000	£47,324	3·99

Comparison with Indian and Prussian State Railways.

	Capital.	Miles of line open.	Mileage per 100,000 population.	Capital cost per mile.	Average net profit per cent.
	£ Millions.			£	
British, 1905	1,282	22,840	51	55,774	3·43
Prussian, 1905 ..	412	21,000	65	20,600	5·58
Indian, 1906	273	29,097	—	9,410	4·57

The excessive capital cost per mile of British lines is due (1) in part to the expensive methods not uncommon with large company undertakings; (2) in part to the large sums spent nominally upon land purchase and compensation, although in reality upon purchasing the votes of Members of the Houses of Parliament, or buying off the opposition of influential landowners; and (3) in part to heavy legal costs of promotion, of Parliamentary work since promotion, and of rivalry and disputes with other companies.

Land and Law.

For land alone sums of £4,000 and £5,000 per mile were commonly paid. The G.W.R. cost £6,300 and the L.B. and S.C.R. £8,000 per mile on account of land. Parliamentary costs were immense. The L.B. and S.C.R. paid £4,806 per mile, the Manchester and Birmingham Railway £5,190, and the London and Blackwall £14,414, whilst the S.E.R., in addition to its Parliamentary expenses, had a solicitors' bill of nearly quarter of a million pounds for carrying its Bill through the House.

The companies yet spend enormous sums in fighting one another's bills. Since the great railway year of 1845, when over 800 companies were formed, the Parliamentary expenses of the companies have amounted to some £300,000,000.—a sum equal to nearly one-half of the National Debt. By far the greater part of this has been absolutely wasted.

II.—RAILWAYS AS CARRIERS.

Theoretically a railway is open to use by private carriers or individuals, Parliament never having contemplated a monopoly of the great railroads laid under its authority. In practice, the railway company's services must be accepted and their terms agreed to. It is due alone to Acts of Parliament and the control of the Board of Trade that the facilities extend as far as they do, and that the terms are not more exorbitant The carriage of third-class.

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passengers, and the carriage of such goods as coal — the two great sources of the companies' immense revenues—were each in turn the subject of a fierce struggle between Parliament and the companies. The fixing of passenger fares and goods freights on a reasonable scale has been the subject of a ceaseless contest, and even now the companies are constantly charged by traders with exceeding the legal maximum charges.

It is interesting to note that the policy forced on the companies has been the cause of their greatest increases of revenue. Had Parliament fixed lower scales of charges and succeeded in enforcing them—as it succeeded in enforcing the third-class passenger traffic, the penny-a-mile fare, and mineral traffic—it is probable that the companies might to-day have been more profitable than they are.

Better still would it have been if Parliament had taken over the railways, itself carried out these reforms, and thus reaped the benefit for the nation.

The system of British railway rates is enigmatic even to the companies themselves. There are some 200 million separate rates and large armies of clerks are kept doing little else than fight the traders over the rates and rectify the errors in cases where they are compelled. Every Commission and Committee on Railways and on Trade Depression has had before it volumes of evidence as to the throttling of trade by exorbitant railway rates. Here are some instances :—

	British rate, per ton.	Belgian, same distance.	German, same distance.	Dutch, same distance.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Coal, Ebbw Vale to Worcester	6 0	3 9	3 11	—
,, ,, ,, Bletchley	9 3	4 8	6 5	—
,, ,, ,, Berkhamstead	9 6	4 10	6 10	—
Bar-iron, North Staffordshire to London	13 4	6 4	9 10	8 8
Cutlery, Sheffield to Hull	20 6	8 9	6 7	6 0
Hardware, Birmingham to Hull	23 6	13 11	11 4	11 3
Iron-wire, packed, Birmingham to Hull	24 4	8 11	11 2	8 2
Machinery, Leeds to Hull	25 0	8 0	4 6	5 6

The delegation of the British Iron Trade Association, which went abroad in 1896, to study the causes of increased pressure of foreign competition, reported : " Undoubtedly the greatest factor in favour of the foreign producer is the much larger cost of carriage in this country."

In *Page's Magazine*, July, 1902, Mr. B. H. Thewbaite points out that the cost of transport for the raw materials of the steel trade is in the United States $\frac{1}{6}$d. compared with $\frac{7}{8}$d. in Great Britain. Mineral transit costs 6s. 3d. in America, where it costs 29s. $2\frac{3}{4}$d. in England. This advantage, he adds, amounts to 18s. per ton on finished iron. The explanation of this difference is that the American railways, although not nationalised, are absolutely in the hands of the great manufacturing trusts, who make them subserve the purposes of trade and commerce.

Mr. W. Cunningham, of Dunfermline, the well-known authority on railway facts, stated in a circular to traders in November, 1906, that averaging the cost of all classes of the world's railway traffic he found that in the United Kingdom the cost of conveying one passenger and one ton of goods averaged 18s. 1d. per 100 miles, whereas for all other countries it averaged 8s. $7\frac{1}{2}$d.

These differences are aggravated by the carriage of imported goods at a less charge than home goods. The excuse for this practice is that imported

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goods are already packed in bulk, but the real explanation is that on the one hand the companies, who manage all traffic by a common understanding, have the home trader at their mercy, especially since canal traffic has been strangled (see *Canals*, page 91); whilst on the other hand the importer can play off the shipping companies against the railway companies.

It is a common thing for imported goods to be brought from the Continental manufacturing districts for a through freight considerably less than for the carriage of similar home goods for one-half the distance inland.

The following instances will suffice:—

	Antwerp to Birmingham (*via* London.)	Birmingham to London.	Brussels to Birmingham (*via* Antwerp) and Goole.	Birmingham to Wolverhampt'n (13 miles.)
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Iron Nails .. per ton	16 8	18 4	—	—
Iron Wire .. ,,	16 8	28 4	—	—
Silvered Plate ,,	27 6	60 0	—	—
Plate Glass .. ,,	—	—	22 6	22 6

These are no exceptional anomalies. They are instances of standing grievances which have led every Chamber of Commerce in the country to declare for nationalised railways.

The evil is equally striking in regard to agricultural produce. Before the Agricultural Commission, 1905, Mr. Dennis, member of the Central Chamber of Agriculture and of the London Chamber of Commerce, said: "I can supply all the coast-town markets infinitely cheaper from farms 150 miles inland in France than I can by bringing the same goods from Lincolnshire."

From Dover to London, French eggs pay 3s. 3d. per ton and Kentish eggs 27s. 7d. French hops pay 17s. 6d. from Paris, and Kentish hops 35s. from Ashford. Scottish fish from Thurso to London costs £4. 15s. per ton; foreign imported fish pays £1 from Aberdeen. Continental fruit from Flushing (*via* Queenboro') to London is 12s. 6d. per ton; Kentish fruit from Queenboro' is 25s.

These, again, are but striking instances of a general system of inequalities which prevail.

III.—PASSENGER FARES.

In the matter of railway fares there is naturally a more general knowledge of the remarkable difference between the fares of British companies and those of the continental State owned, and usually State managed, railways.

The following comparisons between British fares and those of three systems of State Railways will suffice:—

Typical journey in Great Britain.	Distance.	Hungary.	Austria.	Germany.		British.
				3rd class.	4th class.	
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
London to Gravesend	24	1 0	1 0	1 4	0 7½	2 0
,, Brighton	51	2 6	2 6	2 9	1 4	4 2½
,, York	188	8 0	7 6	10 3	5 1	15 8
,, Glasgow..	401	8 0	16 8	21 7	10 8	33 0

Cheaper tickets than these can be got for these English journeys, but that is

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equally the case, or, indeed, far more often the case, in the other countries quoted; for instance, the Belgian railways issue third-class tickets to carry a passenger for five days and nights over all its railways, extending to 2,530 miles, for 9s. 3d. or about 24 miles for one penny.

IV.—THE COST OF COMPETITION.

The result of having a number of private competing lines is a considerable amount of useless expenditure of money and labour, as well as life and limb.

The companies have over 3,000 salaried directors and 51 general managers. Some of the latter draw £4,000 and £5,000 salary. One is reputed to draw £12,000.

Among sources of considerable expense are the costs of competitive advertising, the even greater cost of competitive canvassing, and the immense work necessitated by the sorting out of the multitude of goods trucks belonging to the various companies.

Another absurd result of separate managements is that the trucks of one company are not allowed to stand for long upon the lines of another company, hence it often happens that a goods train of empty or nearly empty trucks must be hauled away, perhaps to the other end of the country, although in 24 hours there will be sufficient goods to necessitate a second train being dispatched to the same destination.

In the same way two or three nearly empty passenger trains may be dispatched by separate lines to the same town almost simultaneously.

The whole cost of the Clearing House would be saved, as well as the greater part of the office and management expenses of each line. So also would such items as the £8,000 spent to keep up a Railway Commission, supposed to see that the companies serve the public.

The great savings which would be possible under a national railway system would allow of a reduction of fares and freights such as to stimulate trade and traffic immensely. Thus, as in the case of municipalised tramways, there would not need to be any dismissals of actual workers. On the contrary, the increased traffic would probably more than counterbalance the reduction brought about by more economic working. And the final result would be a larger staff and better wages concurrently with cheaper freights.

V.—NATIONALISATION.

As to the means by which the railways should be acquired, the Railway Act of 1844 ("Gladstone's Act") though it would not suffice, would, at anyrate, provide the precedent. By this Act all the railways built since that date—that is to say, almost all the railways of the country—were to become purchaseable after 1865. On giving three months notice the State, by this Act, may acquire these railways upon payment of a sum equal to 25 years purchase of the annual divisible profits.

The precise method of payment would probably be by bonds bearing a fixed rate of interest. Even if shareholders were to receive something above their present rate of interest the country would soon benefit by economies, and from the increased traffic following upon reasonable freights and fares, and the study of the interests of the public as the first consideration.

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RAILWAYS.

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SOCIALISM.

THE root idea of Socialism is the organisation of industry on a national footing. During the nineteenth century very great progress was made in the organisation of industry, and the production of manufactured goods was achieved in ways utterly undreamt of one hundred years ago. But in spite of this immense reconstruction, there is still at the present day a large proportion of people who have benefited little, if at all, by the additional power which man has over matter. The Socialist holds that this is due to the fact that industry is still organised by individuals for private ends, and he believes that if the organisation were to go yet one step further and be on a national scale, that a better state of things would result.

According to old doctrines which have been attributed to political economy, the individual in seeking to make the best business for himself is necessarily at the same time serving the public good. It is now recognised that this is only partially true and that many individuals, notably the big financiers of the Standard Oil Trust, and other large companies, often are able to serve their own ends to the direct disadvantage of the public. One of the reasons for this is that the waste of human life does not enter into account.

In the article dealing with the unemployed this point is illustrated, and the need for organisation of the time of every member of the industrial classes is emphasized. This same need for greater organisation is visible in other directions, notably in housing and town development, and in the medical inspection of children.

Socialism is often contrasted with Competition by those who do not realise to what a very large extent the era of Competition has already been displaced by Monopoly. Others say that Socialism can never come because it is impossible. They do not realise that Socialism has already largely come. The only question is, how far the organisation of industry by the community shall proceed. Thus, the following services are already performed by the Community: National defence; National and Imperial distribution of letters and parcels; Telegraphs and telephones; Gasworks, waterworks, and tramways; Insurance and annuities; Savings banks; Road-making, paving and dust collection; Relief of the poor, material and medical; Protection of property, police and fire brigades; Public gardens, parks, and forests; Lunatic asylums and hospitals; Water supply; Milk supply (sterilised); Markets and harbours.

This probably does not exhaust the list, but from it will be seen that the British Government not only carries on the biggest transport business in the world, out of which it makes a profit of four millions sterling per annum, but the biggest banking business in the world.

The following services are in the position of monopolies or quasi-monopolies: Land ownership, Railroads, Canals, Electricity, Docks, &c., are generally admitted to be ready to be "Socialised." Other enterprises, such as the production and distribution of milk, production and distribution of coal, are of such very great importance and are in many respects so badly managed at

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present by individual enterprise that many people other than Socialists already desire them to be taken over and run by the Community.

As to the remaining enterprises at present in private hands few Socialists would propose that all of these should be dealt with at once by the State. They ask rather that the Community should act by degrees, feeling its way, and extending its operations in a tentative manner.

What Socialism Is Not.

In concluding this account of Socialism it may be well briefly to give a summary of those things which are sometimes confused with Socialism, but which are in reality quite distinct.

Socialism is not Democracy, but Democracy forms the basis on which a true Socialism must rest, because Socialism does imply the interference on the part of the State with the industrial-economic affairs of the individual, and unless it rested upon democratic rule it would be wholly unjustifiable.

Again, Socialism is not Communism, which implies the holding of all wealth in common for the public weal. Socialism only requires the holding of the means of production in common.

Still less is it correct to say of Socialism that it means "dividing up of everything equally between all the people of the State." Socialism does not contemplate dividing up at all; it proposes that industrial capital shall be held by the Community just in the same way that the Post Office property is held by the Nation to-day, and the electric-power works, the trams, the sewers, and many other things are held by the municipalities at the present time.

But though Socialism does not in the first instance concern itself with wealth but rather with the means of producing wealth, yet every true Socialist, believes that in a State in which Socialism prevails the Government would insure that there were no children not properly educated or fed, no large numbers of unemployed, no paupers among the old men and women who have lived hard-working lives, and that the present total mal distribution of wealth would be brought to an end.

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TEMPERANCE.

A MEASURE dealing with the Temperance question is definitely promised by the Government during the Session of 1908 (see page 58). If this is to be effective, it must deal at the same time with two sides of the question: Firstly, with drunkenness and excessive drinking, and, secondly, with the undue power of "The Trade." These two are linked into one, because "The Trade" has at present so much power that in the words of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, it places "a standing restraint upon the nation's discretion in dealing with national interests and public policy." Before considering the individual side of the question, it is necessary therefore to see what this power of "The Trade" really means.

Originally there existed something like free trade in licenses, and at that time a license which could be had for the asking did not represent any money value. But during the nineteenth century a different principle was adopted; the issue of licenses was restricted, and therefore those which were obtained had a monopoly value. Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell quote several illustrations. Among these are the following: In 1899 Earl Grey applied to the licensing authorities for a license for a public-house an Broomhill, which was granted to him. He says "I immediately discovered that the State, in conferring upon me a monopoly license, had also granted me a commercial asset of enormous value. I was informed that if I would consent to sell my license I could, without spending a single sixpence, obtain nearly £10,000." In 1901, a Mr. John Gray applied for a license in Manchester, and in giving evidence stated that he reckoned it would be worth to him about £15,000. In another small northern town a new license was granted in 1897 to a small house valued at £3,500. On receipt of the license the owner immediately sold the house for £24,500.

It will be seen from these facts, which are merely a few out of a great number, that the community presents a licensee with a large amount of money value, when it confers a license upon him. How much does the State charge for this license? In some countries, *e.g.*, India, the Government puts the licenses up to auction, and obtains a full value price. In other countries, such as the United States of America, the Government taxes the licencees largely, but in the United Kingdom the tax is very small, and diminishes relatively in proportion to the total value of the house, as will be seen from the following figures:—

Annual Value.	Duty.	Percentage.
	£ s. d.	
Under £10	4 10 0	45 and over
£15 to £20	8 0 0	60 to 40
£25 to £30	14 0 0	56 to 46
£40 to £50	20 0 0	50 to 40
£100 to £200	30 0 0	30 to 15
£200 to £400	40 0 0	13 to 10
£500 to £600	50 0 0	10 to 8
£700	60 0 0	8
£1,000	60 0 0	6
£2,000	60 0 0	3
£6,000	60 0 0	1

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Comparison of England with United States of America.

At the present time the total revenue from public-house licenses in England and Wales is approximately £1,500,000, of which 15 per cent. is derived from London, 28 per cent. from the county boroughs, 16 per cent. from the municipal boroughs, 20 per cent. from the urban districts, and 21 per cent. from the rural districts. The absurdity of the total sum will be realised when it is mentioned that it is actually less by half a million sterling than the amount received from similar licenses in a single American city (New York), whose population is little more than a tenth of the population of England and Wales.

The following table illustrates the difference between the taxation in America and in England :—

	America.			United Kingdom.		
Population Groups.	No. of Towns in Group.	Average Population.	Average Annual Receipts from Liquor Licenses.	No. of Towns in Group.	Average Population.	Average Annual Receipts from Liquor Licenses.
Over 1,000,000..	3	2,143,158	1,064,273	1	4,536,541	274,578
500,000—1,000,000	3	548,362	236,618	3	583,678	37,456
250,000—500,000	8	321,774	119,128	8	330,311	15,796
100,000—250,000	18	141,533	51,246	18	160,058	8,710
50,000—100,000	30	68,442	22,217	30	78,848	3,896
30,000—50,000	27	37,630	11,613	27	45,220	2,699

The following table shows how much revenue might be obtained from the license duties in the cities of the United Kingdom if they were taxed on the same basis as in America :—

City.	Present Annual Receipts from Liquor Licenses.	What the Annual Receipts would be if same amount were received per 1,000 of population as the following American cities :			
		Boston.	St. Louis.	Duluth.	Superior.
	£	£	£	£	£
Liverpool	55,813	356,500	346,900	442,700	330,000
Manchester..	29,326	283,000	275,400	351,500	262,000
Birmingham	27,229	271,800	264,400	337,500	251,600
Leeds	15,340	223,300	217,200	277,200	206,700
Sheffield	19,127	198,200	192,800	246,100	183,500
Bristol	16,195	171,200	166,600	212,500	158,500

One of the essentials of Temperance legislation is the imposition of high license duties. This is, in the first place, equitable because the value of the license is conferred gratuitously by the community. In the second place, it is a necessary step whether the intention be to take over the public-houses by the State or Municipality or in any other way to control them. Thirdly, it is a convenient way of raising fresh money for national purposes, for it must be remembered that this tax would be paid out of what economists call the "rent" which falls to the licensee and would not, in consequence, in anyway affect the return to the ordinary excise and customs duties on wine and spirits.

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The following facts about the Temperance Act of 1904 should be noted By that Act licensees were given a vested interest in their license, and if such license were refused any year they became entitled to compensation unless the refusal was for misconduct, this compensation to be paid out of a fund raised by a tax on the licensed houses left in existence. The same Act transferred licensing jurisdiction from the magistrates to Quarter Sessions.

The following proposals are put forward by Temperance reformers with the view, firstly, of checking the power of "The Trade," and, secondly, of dealing successfully with the evils of drink: (*a*) High licenses as mentioned above. (*b*) The imposition of a time limit at the conclusion of which no further compensation could be claimed. If this were imposed the licensees could be bought out at an earlier date by payment of a compensation value decreasing each year. (*c*) national or municipal ownership of the drink traffic (before this could be advantageously accomplished proposals (*a*) and (*b*) would have to be carried into effect). (*d*) Local option, giving to localities the power to regulate the drink traffic, and perhaps to prohibit it altogether. (*e*) State prohibition.

Temperance reformers are divided into two main camps: those who take up the extreme teetotal attitude and consider that any traffic in drink is evil. They desire, firstly, State prohibition, and, failing that, local option. They oppose municipal control, and in some measure high licenses as being "a taking of money for *the accursed thing*." In the other camp are the majority of men and women in whose opinion drunkenness and not drink is the evil, who believe that State prohibition is, firstly, an unjustifiable restriction of individual liberty, and, secondly, quite impossible, and who, considering local option to be possessed of some of the same objections, believe that it would have no effect in places where drunkenness was rife and would introduce unnecessary restrictions in places which were phenomenally sober. This section regard the increased control of the drink traffic with ultimate municipal ownership as the right solution of the difficulty. (For the question of the proposed abolition of barmaids, see page 155.)

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UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE measure of compulsory idleness is very difficult to take in a highly complex industrial system. There is at present no means of ascertaining how much time is lost by (*a*) those whose occupation is temporary by its very nature; (*b*) those who from personal defects or mere ill-fortune lose one "job" after another; (*c*) those whose employment seldom provides a full week's work. It is only in a "crisis" that such cases ever get taken into account as part of the measure of unemployment.

Again, it is a question whether stoppages of work such as strikes or lock-outs do not sometimes obviate the dismissal of men on the ground of slack time, and cause increased activity on the renewal of work. In the year 1906 there was an aggregate of three million working days lost by trade disputes. If none of these disputes had occurred, would those three million days all have been working time, or would not some considerable proportion of that time have swelled the records of "unemployment" for the year?

These are some of the difficulties which arise in trying to measure Society's loss through compulsory unoccupation.

The best recognised and most reliable source of information as to unemployment is the monthly return made directly to the Labour Department by the principal trade unions which give out-of-work pay to their members.

There are 273 of these unions, whose membership during 1907 increased from about 616,000 to 635,000, and upon the figures given by those who make monthly returns—and usually not more than one or two unions fail in any month—are based the published percentages of unemployed and the "employment charts" of the Labour Department. For the past 10 complete years the mean annual percentages of unemployed have been:—

Monthly Percentages, 1906 and 1907 Compared.

	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	9 Mnths. Mean.
1906	4·7	4·4	3·9	3·7	3·6	3·7	3·6	3·8	3·8	3·91
1907	4·2	3·9	3·6	3·3	3·4	3·6	3·7	4·0	4·6	3·81

Trade Union Unemployed, 1897-1906.

	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	Ten Year's Mean.
Percentage..	3·4	3·0	2·4	2·9	3·8	4·4	5·1	6·5	5·4	4·1	4·1

The feature of this year's returns is the rapid and steady rise from April. The mean number for the corresponding period in 1905 and 1904 was 5·6 and 6·2 respectively. By the above tables it will be seen that the distress dealt with during 1906-7 (see article on "Unemployed," page 182) was but the average condition of affairs for the past 10 years.

The membership of the unions reporting on January 31st was 617,911, and the number upon out-of-work pay was 25,990. The membership at September 30th was 631,241 and the number unemployed 28,914.

These figures, however, apply to those workers whose trades are best organised and conditions most regularised. In some trades unemployment is too frequent or too prolonged to admit of any scheme of out-of-work benefits.

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In any case, the total membership of trade unions is less than two millions, and even excluding domestic servants, among whom unemployment is small and children, as ultimately dependent on others, we have over ten million unorganised manual workers.

If we take the mean percentage of the past 10 years for the reporting unions, and the moderate estimate of 5 per cent. upon the remaining 1,300,000 or more unionists, we get over 91,000 as the mean number of unemployed among the best trained and most efficient of the workers during a period which has embraced seven years of exceptionally good trade. In 1898 our trade returns leapt up by £50,000,000, in '99 by another £63,000,000, and the trade depression which followed the South African war has been succeeded by over four years of phenomenal trade.

Even if the percentage were no higher among the remaining ten million workers, we should need to add 500,000, making 591,000 in all. But no one who is familiar with industrial conditions can doubt that the percentage is much higher among the unorganised trades and higher yet among the unorganised general labourers. What percentage of broken, and therefore unemployed, time should be allowed among certain classes of men reckoned as employed, *e.g.*, dock and river workers, and porters of many kinds, it is impossible to discover; but it is clear that if conditions of industry were absolutely regularised, these lost days now scattered and unregistered, would fall together upon a percentage of the men in recognised periods of "unemployment." The time lost by home-workers during the periods when they are "in work" is even more difficult to estimate in figures, yet this goes to swell the volume of unemployment in a far greater proportion to the number of persons employed than in any other branch of industry.

In the *Labour Record and Review* for October, 1906, page 170, Mr. Pethick Lawrence estimates that taking all these factors into account the real percentage of unemployment among all artisans and labourers in the country is about 2½ times the figure for the skilled trade unions which make returns. On this basis, which probably is under the mark, we arrive at the following estimated figures:—

Table of Total Unemployment—Rough Estimate Only.

	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Percentage	8 5	7·5	6	7	9·5	11	12·5	16	13·5	10

Other classes of workers who do not appear in the official figures—or only to a small extent—are clerks, canvassers, insurance agents, &c.

It is not too much to surmise that an effective census of unemployed persons would reveal the fact that their numbers vary from half a million to three quarters of a million in the course of a year of normal conditions.

Good Trade.

If "good trade" were any remedy for the evil it would have been cured during the past three years. "Good trade" is often accompanied by concentration of capital, improved machinery and methods, and at the same time an enhancement of prices such as to reduce the spending power of the majority of people. When this is the case, as it has been increasingly of late years, "good trade" may throw out as many on one hand as it employs on the other. It will be seen by the above table of unemployed for the years 1897-1906

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that the splendid trade of 1904 and 1905 gave us the highest figures of unemployment for any of the 10 years.

Before attempting to find the remedy of the evil of unemployment it is necessary to understand the cause. In an ordinary business the manager is very careful to keep all his employees continuously employed, and if they have periods when they have nothing to do or have to perform work inferior to the best which they are able, he has failed in his duty. That is in the case of all those employees to whom he pays full time. It has never been suggested that he should say to his clerks "I will pay you 6d. an hour for every hour that I find you work to do and for those hours that I give you no work I will give you no pay." But this is precisely what happens in the case of the workers in a great many other departments of industry. He does not mind allowing his hands to go idle, because the loss does not fall on him, but the loss is there all the same, and it falls in the first instance on the individual employee, and ultimately on the State.

The Remedy.

For this reason it is necessary for the State to step in and put industry on a better basis, in which employment shall be more regular. It has to do this in two ways: Firstly, by reducing to an absolute minimum the unemployment in normal times, and, secondly, by providing some special means to cope with unemployment in exceptional times of industrial depression. The first thing that is required is the formation of a Government department whose business it shall be to facilitate the employment of labour all over the country. It is not to be expected that this will produce any great change all at once, but by degrees this department, if worked intelligently, should mean the reduction of the minimum out-of-work in ordinary times.

Secondly: when periods of exceptional depression come on this national department will be advised of the fact, firstly, through the general knowledge of business men and, secondly, through the percentage figures of unemployment which it will always keep; and when this percentage rises above a certain figure, it will be the duty of this department to take action and to put forward certain schemes of national industry that have been previously scheduled for this very purpose.

Immediate Work.

Among work urgently needing the application of large masses of organised labour is that of (1) afforestation, (2) reclamation of foreshores and erection of sea walls, and (3) laying of light railways for carriage of agricutural produce.

The light railways for agricultural purposes would, in benefiting our agriculture immensely, help to retain in the rural districts the workers who otherwise would keep up the steady immigration from country to town. This will tell on the future of the unemployed problem as well as its present. The necessities of afforestation in a country being rapidly depleted of its timber only need to be stated in order to be realised. The reclamation of foreshores and the building of walls to preserve our coast from future erosion has strongly been urged upon the Government both by coastal local authorities and by geologists. The steady loss of coast lands was shown by a report presented to the "Geological Section" of the British Association. What can be done is shown at Dymchurch, in Kent, where the shore level for 2¼ miles has been raised some 5ft., and the low-water mark driven out 400ft. seaward. This has been done by the building of groynes on such scientific principles that they have arrested a natural deposit of over 1½ million tons of shingle. Similar results have accrued elsewhere.

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In addition to such works as these, the clearance of some of the slums of our great cities and the making of garden suburbs on the outskirts are occupations by no means outside the province of a Government acting through local channels, and not afraid of doing something because it has never been done before.

When a time of depression is approaching the Government will accordingly enter into the ordinary field of employment and require the services of so many thousand men and women. It will pay the ordinary rates of wages and give the ordinary conditions. And it will have to adopt further and further schemes until the percentage of unemployed sinks again to a normal level.

Prevention Better than Cure.

The advantage of these proposals is two-fold : In the first place, unless the nation steps in in this way, the effect of a depression is cumulative. Men and women are thrown out of work in several trades, and as they get no wages they no longer make an effective demand for other industrial products, and hence workers in these other industries are deprived of their employment. This result is again the cause of unemployment to a further number of workers, and so on. The Government, by stepping in at an *early stage* and employing, say, two thousand men, will thus keep in employment a far larger number, perhaps 50,000 or 100,000. A second advantage of this method of dealing with the unemployed over the ordinary method of finding work *after* the depression has reached a severe crisis, is that the State, instead of having to employ the worst men who have been thrown out of every trade, will be able to obtain through ordinary channels an average supply of workmen, good, bad, and indifferent, and in that way it will be possible to make its undertakings fairly reproductive without interfering with other employers.

Such measures as these imply the existence of a National Department working in harmony with Municipal bodies. The problem is too great to be handled piecemeal as now. The Distress Committees are a step in the right direction ; but they should be only the eyes and ears of a National Department for organising labour on useful works.

(An account of the Unemployed during 1907 appears on page 182.)

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WAGES BOARDS.

VOLUNTARY Wages Boards with limited powers already exist in this country in the shape of Conciliation and Arbitration Boards composed of delegates of employers' and employees' societies. These are most common in the coal-mining, boot and shoe, and building trades. There are also several in the metal, textile, and printing trades. Altogether there are 209 such Boards known to the Board of Trade. At least 60 of these have bound themselves to accept the arbitration of the Board of Trade in case of disagreement.

Wages Boards, established by law and with wide powers, exist in New Zealand and Australia.

New Zealand.

The New Zealand method was initiated by Mr. Pember Reeves in 1894, and afterwards followed more or less closely by New South Wales and Western Australia. It is based on Conciliation Boards and Compulsory Arbitration by a judicial authority, with power to fix wages and other conditions of work. The immediate object of the system was to avoid the social and industrial disturbance of strikes and lock-outs; but the system has also been used to control sweating, since any seven workers can become a Union under the Act of 1894, and obtain the benefits of conciliation or arbitration. Practically every trade in turn has by now come under some experience of this law, and the most complex questions of piece-work have been settled under it.

The Working of the Scheme.

The Colony is divided into districts, each of which has its Board of Conciliation. Under these Boards any five employers or any seven workpeople may register as an association. The employers' associations choose two representatives, and the workers' associations choose two. These four choose a chairman from outside. If either party refuses to elect representatives the Governor can appoint members, and can also appoint a chairman if necessary. Parties may, if necessary, be represented by solicitors or counsel. The Board first tries to "conciliate," but failing success has power to make a decision on the "merits and substantial justice of the case."

Either party may then bring the case before the State Court of Arbitration, which consists of three members, one representative each of employers and employees, and a president, who is always a judge of the Supreme Court. This Court has full powers to inspect factories, &c., administer oaths, and compel production of documents. Its awards are enforceable as a judgment of the Supreme Court, disobedience being punished by heavy fines. A strike or lock-out after a case has been referred to a Board or the Court is illegal and punishable.

Unless an appeal is lodged within one month the decision of the Boards becomes a legal agreement binding for three years, or longer if no new award is claimed after three years.

Although a dispute may be local, the Arbitration Court can give a decision fixing the terms of the whole trade throughout the Colony.

Results in New Zealand.

In actual practice the decisions of the Court create a minimum standard of wages and conditions, the average in many trades being above the minimum thus fixed.

Up to 1904 very few strikes had occurred, the whole of them not affecting 500 persons. Since then a new situation has developed owing to strikes

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having occurred illegally after arbitration had been given. On September 3rd, 1907, the Court of Appeal, in the case of the Wellington slaughtermen's strike, decided that if fines inflicted upon strikers were not paid the defaulters might receive as much as one year's imprisonment. This decision seems to deal the death blow to strikes in New Zealand.

Victorian System.

In Victoria the Wages Boards only come into existence by agreement of employers and employed in a particular trade, and they consist of the representatives of both sides, who have power legally to fix wages by piece or time. By March, 1907, there were 42 of these boards, and all of them had raised wages in the various trades without any serious friction having taken place. There is an Appeal Court, but it has rarely been called upon to act.

The Victorian Act when introduced in 1896 provided for a three-years experiment, but it was renewed in 1899, and has since been three times renewed. At the next renewal it will probably become a permanent Act.

The experience of the Boards is that their decisions are easily enforceable in factories and workshops, but not so successful in the "sweated trades." As these latter are carried on largely by the lowest class of alien labour, this is not surprising. The greatest difficulty is with the furniture trades and other work carried on by Chinese labour.

Other Australian Schemes.

In 1900, West Australia adopted the New Zealand scheme. In 1901, South Australia adopted the Victorian system. In 1902 New South Wales adopted a system which has no Conciliation Boards, but follows the New Zealand scheme in its Central Arbitration Court.

Cause or Effect?

These Boards, both in New Zealand and Australia, have been operating during a rise of prices in the Labour market. How far they have contributed to this, or how far this rise is responsible for the improvements attributed to the Boards, it is impossible yet to say. As, obviously, they render trade unionism less vital, the trade-union secretaries are inclined to find fault. But the general opinion seems to be emphatically in approval of the Boards.

Col. Reay, president of the Victoria Anti-Sweating League, stated in the Queen's Hall, London, on May 15th, 1907, that the Victorian Wage Boards had raised wages in every trade, and had practically extinguished the "sweating" middleman.

Favoured by Our Best Employers.

The movement in favour of wages Boards in this country as a remedy for "sweating" resulted in the appointment, during the summer of 1907, of a Select Committee to enquire into the whole question of "home work," and the possible remedies. Among the witnesses strongly favouring such Boards was Mr. G. R. Askwith, the Board of Trade Arbitrator, whose success in his efforts has been remarkable. He told the Select Committee (August 1st, 1907) that there was a growing opinion among the best class of employers in favour of such Boards.

Supporters of Wages Boards are at present divided in opinion between the New Zealand system with its judicial authority, and the Victorian system, more nearly resembling our own Trade Arbitration Boards. Well-known authorities like Miss Clementina Black and Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb support

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the New Zealand system, whilst the Victorian system is supported by the Women's Trade Union League and Anti-sweating League, and by Sir Charles Dilke, who made it a model for his own Bill of 1906 on Wages Boards, not brought forward again last session in view of Mr. Gladstone's promised appointment of a Select Committee.

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WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT.

On February 27th, 1907, the House of Commons, for the first time in its history, carried a resolution—by 198 to 90—in favour of the disestablishment and disendowment of the State Church.

The 34 Welsh Members, everyone of whom is pledged to the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, are greatly dissatisfied that no Bill has so far been brought forward by the Government. It is likely that their pressure will be strong enough to cause the production of such a Bill during the Session of 1909.

The arguments of the Welsh members and their supporters are (1) the general arguments for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church, and (2) arguments particularly applicable to the situation in Wales.

The General Case for Disestablishment.

The general case for Disestablishment is well stated in the publications of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control—better known as the Liberation Society.

It is contended that the establishment of the Church inflicts grave injustice, because :—

> It gives legislative sanction and special privileges to one Church, instead of dealing impartially with all.
>
> It supports that one Church by means of property which belongs to the entire nation, but is often wastefully expended by the favoured Church.
>
> It gives Bishops seats in the House of Lords; where they generally vote against measures of reform.
>
> It prevents all other ministers of religion officiating in ecclesiastical edifices belonging to the nation, and no Nonconformist minister, however eminent, is allowed to take part in national religious observances.
>
> It gives to the established clergy a practical monopoly of masterships of public schools, and even gaol and workhouse chaplaincies.
>
> It has the effect, in thousands of parishes, of compelling all children to attend Church of England schools; no other public elementary schools being allowed to exist.

Further, Establishment injures the Church and religion also :—

> By depriving the Church of self-government, of the power of effecting necessary reforms, and of the means of maintaining religious discipline.
>
> By vesting the appointment of Bishops, Deans, and other dignitaries, and of many of the clergy, in the Sovereign and the Prime Minister, without regard to the religious belief or character of either.
>
> By treating incumbencies as "livings" and "freeholds," and vesting the appointment of ministers in private patrons; also by allowing patronage rights to be bought and sold.
>
> By not allowing to congregations any voice in the choice of their ministers, or in the regulation of the services of the Church.

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What Disestablishment will not do.

Disestablishment will not abolish "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," or otherwise interfere with the Episcopal form of Church government. It will not touch the doctrines of the Church, as contained in its Creeds and Articles, It will not alter the Church's form of worship, as regulated by the Book of Common Prayer. It will not destroy, but may lead to an improvement of, the parochial system.

What it will Do.

As a result of Disestablishment: The King will cease to be head of the Church,and will stand in the same position in regard to it as to all other Churches The Crown (*i.e.*, the Prime Minister) will no longer appoint the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church, nor the Deans, nor the Canons; who will all be chosen by the Church itself. The bishops will not have seats in the House of Lords. The clergy will not be appointed by the Prime Minister, or the Lord Chancellor, or by private patrons; but by the Church itself. The sale of livings, and other scandals of the patronage system, will cease. Convocation will have liberty to act, as well as talk, and will also be reformed. The affairs of the Church will be regulated, not by Acts of Parliament, but by a representative body of Churchmen. The laity will have greater power in managing Church affairs. The clergy will not have the exclusive right to minister in the cathedrals and to take part in religious observances of a national or public character, or have precedence over all other ministers.

Lastly, the mere fact of Disendowment will greatly stimulate the supporters of the Church to do their best for it, as was found to be the result of Disestablishment in Ireland.

Free Church Wales.

Wales has special claims as a Free Church country. The State Church in Wales embraces the majority of persons with territorial influence and power, and a good proportion of the official and professional classes, but it is essentially an official institution, distasteful to the Welsh people, and commanding only the formal adherence of many of its nominal members. With its unique influence and power, the whole of the "sittings" of its churches number but 464,000, and its communicants number but 134,000, whilst the four principal Free Churches alone—Baptists, Congregationalists, Wesleyans, and Calvinistic Methodists—account for just on a million and a half sittings and 543,000 communicants. The whole of the children attending the Church Sunday Schools number 164,000, with less than 14,000 teachers, whilst the four Churches mentioned have 555,000 children and 61,000 teachers. To the totals given for the four principal Free Churches must be added those of many other religious bodies not showing their Welsh membership separately, such as the Roman Catholics, Unitarians, Quakers, Plymouth Brethren, and Salvation Army; also the Jews, and all Freethinkers, avowed or unavowed.

What is more important even than the above comparison is the fact that the Established Church totals increase but slowly, whilst the Free Church totals rise as steadily as the population. It must also be remembered that increasing numbers not only of the Anglican laity, but also of the younger Welsh clergy, are favourable to Disestablishment.

The effect on Parliamentary representation has been the complete extinction of the Church party at the polls. The results for three decades have been 27 to 5 in 1886, 31 to 3 in 1895, and 34 to none in 1906.

It will be seen, then, that if steady and deepening public opinion counts for anything, the Establishment in Wales must come to an end.

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A Bishop's Wise Words.

Even the Bishops begin to perceive this. On May 24th, 1907, the Bishop of Hereford, whose diocese contains some Welsh parishes, said :—

> The maintenance of the privileged position of the Church in defiance of the general will of the people, created throughout the Principality a sense of national grievance. Rightly or wrongly, they looked upon it as unfair treatment, and a denial of their constitutional rights. And thus it proved a constant source of jealous antagonism and bitterness. To sweep such a mass of ill-feeling out of the life of a people would undoubtedly prove a national benefit.

Disendowment.

With the Disestablishment of the Irish Church went Disendowment. The same would be the case in Wales, where practically the whole of the permanent endowments are from tithe rent charges, and therefore as clearly as possible a case of public property.

Under a Welsh Disestablishment Bill, following Mr. Asquith's Bill of 1895 which followed the precedent of Ireland, the management and disposition of the funds would be something as follows :—

> The bishops and beneficed clergy would continue to receive their present incomes, and occupy their residences, so long as they held their offices. Those who resigned would receive a compensation annuity.
>
> In the funds arising from endowments—estimated at about £280,000 a year—the life-interests would be a first charge. Of this amount £233,000 would ultimately be administered locally, the tithe rent-charge being vested in the county councils. The remaining £46,000 would be administered by the Commissioners for the benefit of the whole Principality. The local funds would be applied for the provision of cottage hospitals, convalescent homes, trained nurses, labourers' dwellings and allotments, public halls, institutes, and libraries. The central fund would be used for higher education, and the establishment of a library, museum, or academy of art.

It is interesting to note that Disestablishment in Ireland has failed to bring about the ruin predicted for it. Col. Saunderson, speaking at Dublin on October 6th, 1898, said : "I voted against that measure at the time, yet if I could undo that vote I would, for I believe that the Irish Church is stronger and more spiritual than ever it was before." Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, said : "The very disaster which threatened our downfall has been over-ruled for our good." The Archbishop of Armagh and several of the Irish Bishops have given similar testimony.

The Bishops and Church party were wrong in their prophecies as to Ireland, and the Liberationists have been proved right. Is it not reasonable to suppose that similar results would follow in the case of Disestablishment and Disendowment of the State Church in Wales ?

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THE ENGLISHWOMAN'S REVIEW

Of Social, Industrial, and Educational Questions Affecting Women.

(Started in 1858 as *Englishwoman's Journal.*)

Edited by ANTOINETTE M. MACKENZIE.

The REVIEW endeavours to collect, quarter by quarter, all that is of most value for reference and record in regard to the work of women in all parts of the world.

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WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

THE demand for Women's Enfranchisement, which has come so rapidly to the front as one of the foremost questions of the day, is part of a larger demand for wider opportunities and better position, and is in itself the necessary preliminary to all other advance.

The theory that woman is better off shielded and protected by man than in working out her own salvation has failed completely. Exclusive of domestic service, one-third of the industrial work of this country is done by women's labour, a large part of which is paid for at rates which imply starvation. Nearly all the more lucrative positions are in the hands of men; and of those that remain several are threatened by legislation; an example is provided by the agitation against barmaids which (though supported and pressed forward by many well-meaning people) would deprive women of one of their best-paid occupations, and one in which they are more protected from insult than in many other callings.

Statisticians state that during the last 60 years, while wages of men have risen considerably, wages of women have remained stationary and in many cases even have fallen. What is there to account for this? Men have not grown cleverer in proportion to women during this period. But one advantage they have had and have made increasing use of—the vote. And it is to that vote that women turn in the first place to give them economic redress; for the vote is still more important to women to-day than it was to men in years gone by, for whereas men needed the vote because their employers possessed it, and made laws to their disadvantage, women need it to-day because not only their employers, but also their (men) competitors in the labour market possess it and dominate them therewith.

But it is not merely to improve their wages that women are demanding their enfranchisement; they desire more equal laws, they desire to have a say in the education of their children, they desire to be reckoned a "parent"* under the laws of the country, they desire a wider scope and a wider outlook upon life. The rich man's idea that his wife is to be a mere butterfly, the working man's idea that his wife is to be an unpaid drudge, who can work 16 hours a day looking after *his* children and *his* house, is no longer tenable.

Women's demand for enfranchisement cannot be very much longer delayed, and when it comes it will be of immense benefit not merely to women but also to men. Men will gain and not lose by the increased respect paid to women, and by having women for comrades instead of for inferiors. Some men fear competition of women's labour, but the better status of women will really benefit men also, for when women are able to demand and get good wages alongside of men they will no longer undersell their labour as they do at the present time.

From the first women suffragists have demanded neither more nor less than the abolition of the political disability of sex. They have claimed that whatever qualifies a man to vote shall qualify a woman to vote. They have asked that an Act shall be passed which shall run as follows:—

> In all Acts relating to the qualifications and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with, and having reference to, the right to be registered as voters.

This, though the obvious and natural means of enfranchisement, has been

* At present a mother is not reckoned a "parent" under the Vaccination Act if her husband is alive, nor would she have been under Mr. Birrell's Education Bill of 1906.

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opposed by a number of men and some women, who state that it is not democratic, and that nothing short of complete adult suffrage at one step will satisfy them. An amendment to this effect was carried at the Belfast Labour Conference in January, 1907.

The introduction of adult suffrage would imply an increase of the electorate from some eight million men, as it is at present, to some 12½ million men and 13 million women. It may be taken as certain that the country which has hesitated over the inclusion of women at all would never consent at one step to enfranchise them all. And, as pointed out by the *Manchester Guardian*, on October 26th, 1907, the support for such proposals comes not from real friends of the movement but from those "nominal friends who see quite clearly that the awkwardness of the present demand lies in its moderation, and that the bigger you can make it the longer you may put it off."

Those who are really anxious for adult suffrage will first insist upon the removal of the sex disqualification, which will enfranchise about two million women. They can then work for the extension of the franchise on other lines, knowing that every widening of the basis will include men and women alike.

Important Dates in Woman's Suffrage.

1821. Monster demonstration of men and women at Peterloo.
1832. Reform Act: Electorate extended; women excluded.
1851. Lord Brougham's Act; the word *man* always to include *woman*.
1865. John Stuart Mill elected to Parliament.
1866. Petition introduced by Mill, signed by 1,500 women.
1867. Mill's amendment to substitute *person* for *man* in the Representation of the People Bill rejected by a majority of 121.
1868. Application by 5,000 women in Manchester to be registered as electors rejected. (Chorlton v. Lings.)
1869. Full suffrage granted to women in Wyoming.
1870. Bill read second time in House of Commons; Gladstone secured its defeat in Committee.
1873. Memorials to Gladstone and Disraeli by 11,000 women.
1881. Suffrage granted to women in Isle of Man.
1884. Reform Bill; suffrage amendment defeated by Gladstone's threat to abandon Bill.
1888. Memorial by 169 M.P.'s, asking Government to give day for a Bill.
1893. Full suffrage granted to women in New Zealand and Colorado.
1894. Full suffrage granted to women in South Australia.
Registration Bill withdrawn on threatened woman suffrage amendment.
1895. Equal suffrage granted to women in Utah (U.S.A.).
1896. An appeal to M.P.'s from 257,000 women.
Full suffrage granted to women in Idaho (U.S.A.).
1897. Bill passed second reading; 1,285 petitions were presented in favour—800 more than for any other Bill that Session.
1900. Full suffrage granted to women in Western Australia.
1901. Petition to the House, signed by 29,300 women textile workers in Lancashire.
Memorial presented to Mr. Balfour, signed by 1,168 workers for women's suffrage.
1902. Full suffrage granted to the women of Australia for the Federal Parliament.
Petitions to Parliament from 33,184 women textile workers in Yorkshire; 4,300 in Cheshire; and 750 women graduates of Universities.
1903. Petitions from 8,600 tailoresses; 71 Trades Councils; 62 trade unions, representing 100,000 men; and from the I.L.P.
1904. Resolution carried in the Commons by 114.
Formation of Women's Social and Political Union.
1905. Bill talked out; petitions bearing 25,708 signatures in favour. Questions asked at Liberal meetings. Miss Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney imprisoned for first time.
1906. Woman suffrage granted in Finland.
January—General Election; suffrage candidate in Wigan; Liberals questioned.
January—General Election; Liberals questioned; suffrage candidate in Wigan.
April—Suffrage resolution in Commons; scene in the Ladies' Gallery.
May—Deputation to C.-B., representing 150,000 women; petition from 1,500 women graduates.

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July—Women at Mr. Asquith's house; he escapes by back door; four imprisonments.
August—Women cause Liberal defeat at Cockermouth.
October—Eleven women arrested at House of Commons.
December—Twenty-five further arrests.

1907. Woman suffrage in Norway.
February and March—Procession and meeting of constitutional suffragists; demonstrations and arrests of 135 militant suffragists.
April-August—Eight by-elections; the Women's Social and Political Union oppose the Liberal nominee; the National Union of Suffrage Societies fight Wimbledon, their candidate securing 3,299 votes.
October and November—Campaign by National Women's Social and Political Union all over the country; Liberal meetings broken up.

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WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

By G. C. Cope, Barrister-at-Law.

It is well for us to realise that the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906 is perhaps the most momentous that has ever been passed. It involves at once much less and much more than compensation.

Compensation, regarded as an equivalent for loss of life, limb, or health to a worker, or for the personal loss suffered by his wife or family is not, and cannot be, provided.

The liability to such accidents remains for ever the toll demanded of the manual worker, and for that the community must remain for ever in his debt.

On the other hand, the Act once for all established in this kingdom a vital principle of vast importance, viz., that, with few exceptions, the *financial* loss from industrial injury, incurred no matter how, by all wage-earners and their dependants, constitutes a debt which the employer in every case must discharge. This is much more than compensation. It gives a new and a national status to the British worker—a status founded upon the recognition that, whether in public or private employment, he is playing a truly national part, and that his welfare and independence are a truly national concern.

How the Right to Compensation Grew.

Little more than sixty years ago the law stood thus:—

(1) An injured worker had no compensation at all unless his employer had been negligent personally or through defective management or plant.

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(2) Even though the employer had been negligent, there would be no compensation if the worker had been negligent also.

(3) The serious questions whether (a) the employer and (b) the worker had been negligent, were decided by judges and middle-class juries with scant sympathy for the workers.

(4) By the monstrous doctrine of "common employment," if a worker was injured through a fellow-workman's fault, he could have no compensation.

(5) If a worker was killed, there was no compensation at all for his dependants.

In 1846 an Act was passed to give compensation to a killed worker's dependants.

In 1880 the Employers' Liability Act mitigated the unjust doctrine of "common employment" in certain cases.

In 1893 a much better Employers' Liability Bill was mangled by the House of Lords, and had to be dropped.

In 1897 the first Workmen's Compensation Act was passed. That was a startling event. Until then no one could get compensation from any other person unless he had been injured through such other person (a) having been negligent or (*b*) having broken some definite agreement with him. But that Act picked out certain special employments, and said that employers must compensate all workers injured in those employments, *even though the employer had not been negligent*, and whether the worker had been negligent or not, provided that the worker's negligence did not amount to "serious and wilful misconduct."

In 1900 there was another Act to include agricultural labourers in the Act of 1897.

The principle of these two Acts has now been amplified and extended in the new Act, and I want my readers clearly to appreciate it. It is threefold: (1) that the money loss to the worker through industrial injury is a regular part of the expenses of production; (2) that it is fair and convenient that the employer should pay in the first instance; (3) that by means of insurance, some increased charge to the consumer, and some sacrifice to the employer, the cost may easily be distributed.

On December 21st, 1906, the new measure, after much threshing out and improvement, received the Royal assent, and came into operation on July 1st, 1907.

Who are Within the Act?

The Act comprises *all* workers of *all* kinds (including seamen) under any contract of employment, express or implied, in writing or by word of mouth; the only exceptions being:—

(1) Non-manual workers, such as clerks, shop assistants, &c., if earning more than £250 a year.

(2) Policemen and persons in the Naval and Military service of the Crown.

(3) Persons employed (a) casually and (b) not in the employer's business.

(4) Outworkers or persons working on given-out materials in places not under the control of the giver-out.

(5) Members of the employer's family.

The Grounds of Compensation.

The grounds of compensation are "personal injury by accident" to the worker causing incapacity or, in case of death, loss of maintenance to his dependants. Accident now includes industrial diseases, such as anthrax,

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and poisoning from lead, mercury, phosphorus, arsenic, and mining. The Home Secretary may make orders including other diseases.

Who are Dependants?

Dependants are all the members of the workman's family dependent on his wages at his death. The Act goes beyond all former legislation in providing on the motion of Keir Hardie, that where the workman, being the parent or grand-parent of an illegitimate child, leaves such a child dependent upon his earnings, or being an illegitimate child leaves a parent or grand-parent so dependent, such child, parent, or grand-parent respectively shall rank as dependants.

What Compensation is Given?

(1) In case of death. (*a*) Where the worker leaves persons wholly dependent upon him the amount of compensation shall be a sum equal to his earnings, if under the same employer, for three years before the injury, or £150, whichever is the larger, but not exceeding £300. If the employment has been less than three years, the compensation is 156 times the average weekly earnings. (*b*) When the worker leaves persons partly dependent on him the amount will be settled by arbitration.

(2) Where the worker is incapacitated the compensation is a weekly payment not exceeding half his average weekly earnings in the previous 12 months; or, when employed a shorter time under the same employer, not more than £1 per week. If he is incapacitated for less than two weeks he gets no compensation for the first week, but if his incapacity lasts for two weeks or more his compensation begins from the day of the accident. Thus, if incapacitated for a week he gets nothing; if incapacitated for 10 days he gets three days' compensation; if incapacitated for two weeks he gets two weeks' compensation

(3) Where the injured worker is under 21 years he may have compensation up to full wages if not more than 10s. a week, and it may as time goes on be put up to £1, according to what he would probably have earned if uninjured.

Serious and Wilful Misconduct.

As under the former Acts no compensation is to be given in minor cases when the injury arises from "serious and wilful misconduct." But under this Act such misconduct will not be a reason for disallowing compensation in cases of death or serious and permanent disablement.

Case of Bankrupt Employer.

In case of bankruptcy certain debts are by law allowed to come first for payment. Compensation due to workmen under the Act will rank with these debts.

Advance Made.

To sum up. It is reckoned that no less than six million additional workers are now admitted to the benefits of the new Act, while those who were affected by the former law are exempted in future from the costly litigation and the uncertainty of their previous position.

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D. J. SHACKLETON, M.P.

Parliamentary Vice-Chairman of Labour Party, Vice-Chairman of Northern Counties Weavers, Chairman of Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee and President-elect of the 1908 Congress.

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STATUS OF LABOUR.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS, 1907.

Secretary: W. C. STEADMAN, Effingham House, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.

THE Fortieth Annual Congress of Trade Unions was held on September 2nd to 7th, 1907, at Bath, a departure from the usual custom of meeting in an industrial or commercial centre. The Congress was by far the largest ever held. There were 521 delegates present, as compared with 491 and 458 respectively in the two previous years, whilst there were close upon 1,700,000 members represented, compared with 1,562,000 and 1,554,000 respectively. Among the delegates were 34 Members of Parliament, 26 Justices of the Peace, and 24 Aldermen and Borough Councillors. A notable feature of the Congress was the presence of delegates from the Actors' Union, Variety Artistes' Federation, and Theatrical Employees' Union.

A. H. Gill, M.P., J.P., Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, was President of the Congress.

The principal discussions took place upon: (*a*) Labour Unity in Parliament; (*b*) Government workers' conditions; (*c*) Compulsory arbitration; (*d*) Sunday labour: (*e*) Salvation Army sweating: (*f*) Antwerp blacklegging · (*g*) Deaths from military firing in Belfast. On the question of a Minimum Wage Standard, its advocates defeated the Parliamentary Committee which was opposed to raising the proposal in practical form. It was decided that future candidates for the Secretaryship should be pledged to join the Labour Party. The Congress again declared for secular education by an overwhelming majority.

Monday, September 2nd.

The delegates having been welcomed by their President, the Mayor, and City M.P.'s, certain elections followed. S. H. Whitehouse and Walter Gee were elected Auditors. A General Purposes Committee of five members was elected, headed by P. Curran, M.P., 272 votes; six tellers, headed by Alderman B. Turner, 281 votes; and six scrutineers, headed by J. R. Clynes, M.P., 204 votes. After formally receiving the Parliamentary Committee's Report the Congress adjourned. A garden party, concert, and dance followed.

Tuesday, September 3rd.

The President in the course of his speech dealt with the legislation of the session, and the necessity for old-age pensions and organisation of the unemployed.

Parliamentary Committee's Report.

The Parliamentary Committee's Report, which consisted of 90 pages, was then discussed. The principal subjects dealt with in the Report were:—

1. Trades Disputes and Workmen's Compensation Acts.
2. Deputations to War Office, Admiralty, Board of Trade, and Home Office.
3. Government Contracts.
4. Home Work and Sweated Industries.
5. Miners' Hours of Work.
6. Old Age Pensions.
7. The Unemployed.
8. Physical Deterioration, and Meals for Children.
9. Reform of Parliamentary Procedure.
10. Work and Wages under Local Authorities.
11. Dispute between Postmen's Federation and other Postal Societies.
12. Unity in Parliament between Labour Party and Trade Union Group.

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13. Systematic Overtime and Time Cribbing.
14. Joint Board of Labour Party, Congress Committee, and Federation of Unions.
15. A Labour Newspaper.
16. Relations of Trade Unionism and Co-operation.

The Committee concluded by urging trade unions to take up with determination and energy a programme of social and industrial reforms, including old-age pensions, work for the unemployed, poor law reform, and land nationalisation. The Report went on:—

> Some men start life with a full stomach and end it with a full banking account; for them, old-age pensions and the workhouse system have no interest. Others are born in want, and after a life-long struggle for their daily bread end their days in the workhouse. Men and women who toil with their hands are tired of society as at present organised—a life which too often metes out to them starvation in their old age.

These words were quoted by the press of the whole country.

Labour Unity.

One of the principal debates of the Congress arose on the clause in the report referring to Labour Unity, *i.e.*, common action between the Labour Party and Trade Union group. The points outstanding were: (*a*) That the Trade Union group wanted to exclude Labour members who are not trade unionists—*e.g.*, J. R. Macdonald and Philip Snowden: (*b*) that the Labour Party wanted all members of the Trade Union group—*e.g.*, Henry Vivian and F. Maddison—to be pledged not to oppose *bona-fide* Labour candidates at the poll. The leading members of the Trade Union group repudiated the action of those of their group who opposed other Labour candidates; Enoch Edwards, their Chairman, declaring such action to be nothing short of a scandal.

The Parliamentary Committee, which had been using its best efforts towards unity, proposed to continue so doing, and the Congress approved of this course.

The report was then adopted without material alterations.

The Agenda.

On the motion of W. Hulme and W. Thorne, M.P., the Congress urged the Parliamentary Committee to secure amendments of the Cheap Trains' Acts in favour of cheaper weekly and daily tickets for workmen.

Sunday Employment.

A resolution against Sunday labour aroused considerable discussion, its opponents contending that the remedy was a limitation of daily hours and the securing of one complete day's rest for every worker. The resolution was only lost by 685,000 to 649,000.

English Blacklegs Abroad.

John Ward, M.P. (Navvies), and Anderson (Dockers) moved a strong resolution condemning both the Antwerp blacklegs and their recruiters, and calling for extension of the Foreign Enlistment Act to prevent such recruiting. This was carried unanimously and cabled to Antwerp.

Parliamentary Machinery.

After a few brief speeches the Congress unanimously voted that pressure be brought on the Government.

> "To substitute for the wanton and wicked waste of time and money known as the "Slaughter of the innocents," a new procedure which will compulsorily carry private members' measures from stage to stage and session to session, until either placed on the Statute Book or rejected. The only exception to be a dissolution of Parliament."

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Government Contracts.

Congress then (1) agreed to the motion of Mr. Gregory (League of Blind) that national and municipal dealing with blind persons should replace voluntary charity; (2) called upon the Government to manufacture its requisites in its own workshops and abolish the present contracting system.

House of Lords.

Ben Cooper's resolution, verbosely condemning the House of Lords, met with much criticism, being regarded as playing into the hands of insincere politicians. It was peremptorily referred back to be re-drafted as a resolution declaring for entire abolition of the House. This was done, and when brought forward next morning it was carried unanimously.

Belfast Shooting.

Meanwhile, urgency was granted for a resolution calling for a searching enquiry into the circumstances leading to the two deaths at the hands of the troops in Belfast on August 13th. Councillor A. Boyd (Belfast) as one engaged in the contest, protested gravely and emphatically that there had at no time been anything to justify the presence of the soldiers, and still less, of the firing. This view was corroborated by G. Greig (Belfast), J. Sexton, and Alderman Gee. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Postal Servants' Dispute.

On the dispute between the different branches of postal servants the delegates accepted "the previous question."

Miscellaneous Resolutions.

The Congress then adopted resolutions in favour of: (1) a Labour daily newspaper; (2) full citizen rights for civil servants; (3) abolition of systematic overtime; (4) inclusion of potters and brass casters' work among dangerous trades; (5) Factory Act amendments to secure (*a*) prohibition of Saturday afternoon and Sunday labour in textile factories; (*b*) prohibition of workshops in private houses; (*c*) prevention of women's labour in metal-polishing and turning rooms; also (6) condemnation of the inefficient administration of the Factory Acts and demand for public enquiry into the working of the department.

Thursday, September 5th.

The Congress Secretary and the Labour Party.

After adopting the amended resolution upon the Lords, the Congress proceeded to discuss the resolution of the Amalgamated Stevedores:—

> "That no future candidate for the office of secretary shall be eligible unless he is prepared to sign the constitution of the Labour Party in the event of his becoming a candidate for Parliament."

This resolution had by many been regarded as a storm cloud on the horizon of the Congress, the sensationalist press stigmatising it as a deep Socialist manœuvre which had only to be exposed in order to be defeated. Although the resolution did not, of course, apply to the Secretary already appointed, yet Will Steadman frankly told the Congress that on this question he was in their hands.

After receiving the support of the leading delegates, the resolution was adopted unanimously, and for the first time delegates fully realised how completely predominant is the Labour Party in the Congress.

It remains to be seen whether the present Secretary will take a step which,

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it is obvious, would be highly approved by the Congress. Up to now, his trade society—the barge builders—has not joined the Labour Party, but no doubt that difficulty could be got over, as in the case of W. H. Taylor, whose society is not in the Labour Party, but who sits on the Labour benches in the House of Commons.

Secretary's Salary.

The Congress then, with hearty applause, agreed that as the Secretary is prevented from holding any other official position, and since his appointment had been elected to Parliament, his salary should be raised from £250 to £300 per annum.

Militarism.

The Operative Lacemakers moved:—

> "That this Congress desires to enter its protest against the proposal to introduce conscription, or compulsory military training, believing that any such system would act most injuriously upon the industrial and commercial interests of the working classes through the removal of young men from their trades and occupations at that time of life when excellence in craftsmanship is most easily attainable."

On the agenda paper there was an amendment, in the name of the Gasworkers' Union, to delete the words "compulsory military training." W. Thorne, M.P., now said that much against his will he had been forced by his Union colleagues to withdraw the amendment. The resolution was carried with one dissentient.

Wages for Government Work.

There were no fewer than fifteen resolutions and several amendments on wages questions, nearly all of them affecting the employees of the Government or of Government contractors. The General Purposes Committee reduced these to eight in number.

The longest and most important of these, moved by G. N. Barnes, M.P., and John Baker, was designed to secure:—

> "(*a*) That all Government contracts should contain a carefully-drawn Fair Wage Clause; (*b*) that a schedule of wages paid should be posted in a conspicuous part of the contractor's works; (*c*) that no contractors should be eligible for Government work unless these conditions obtained in all their work, whether Government work or not; (*d*) that union officials should be able to learn to whom contracts affecting their trades have been given."

This was carried by a large majority.

Defeat of Parliamentary Committee.

On the next resolution the Parliamentary Committee was defeated by the advocates of a minimum wage standard, whose resolution of last year the Committee had ignored.

J. G. Butler (Army Clothing Factory) moved a resolution expressing the keen disappointment of Congress at the failure of the Committee to bring before the House the minimum wage resolution carried at last Congress; re-affirming belief of Congress in a minimum wage of 30s. for 48 hours in the London district; and again instructing the Committee to bring this forward upon the estimates.

D. C. Cummings moved as an amendment that the Parliamentary Committee should get a resolution as to Trade Union conditions for Government workers brought forward "in whatever manner they may determine best."

The amendment was supported by D. J. Shackleton, M.P., but after a

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vigorous debate Butler's resolution was carried on a card vote by 853,000 to 630,000.

Resolutions were also carried to the following effect:—

(1) "Condemning the premium bonus and feed and speed systems; recommending societies to check and, where possible, abolish them; and protesting against their introduction into Government workshops;

(2) "Instructing the committee to interview the Admiralty as to paying all grades of dockyard workers not less than the recognised trade rates, and, failing satisfaction from their interviews, to raise the question in the House;

(3) "Abolition of piece-work in manufacture of explosives, and substitution of day work based on a weekly wage of 36s. for 48 hours."

Salvation Army and Sweating.

The lengthy debate on wages questions had been twice suspended, the first time in the morning in order to debate the charge of sweating brought against the Salvation Army, and secondly, in the afternoon to receive American and other delegates bringing fraternal greetings.

J. O'Grady, M.P. (Furnishing Trades), moved that, in view of evidence, which he proceeded to lay before the Congress, as to the charge of sweating in Salvation Army joinery work, the Parliamentary Committee should be instructed to negotiate with the Army in order to prevent this. F. Chandler, J.P. (Joiners), seconded, describing the evil complained of as a menace to Trade Unionism.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Greetings from the States.

During Thursday afternoon Mr. J. T. Dempsey (American Miners' Federation) and Mr. W. E. Krapetzky (American Hairdressers) conveyed to Congress the fraternal greetings of American Trade Unionists. Mr. Dempsey said that, inspired by the success of the British Labour Party, the American Federation of Labour had, for the first time in its history, entered on an active political campaign. Mr. Krapetzky said that last year the Federation had upset the whole fabric of American politics, and for the first time in politics the American workingman was respected and Labour was recognised.

Other Fraternal Delegates.

J. Crinnion conveyed to Congress the fraternal greetings of the General Federation of Trade Unions; A. Henderson, M.P., those of the Labour Party; and W. H. Watkins, those of the Co-operative Union.

Friday, September 6th.

Congress adopted (1) Miss MacArthur's resolution calling for a legal minimum wage in sweated industries; (2) Mr. Clyne's resolution in favour of a 48 hours' day, and against night work in bakeries.

G. N. Barnes, M.P., moved that Congress express dissatisfaction with the Government's failure to establish Old-Age Pensions, and demanding a scheme to provide not less than 5s. per week to persons of 60 years and upwards.

Compulsory Arbitration and Conciliation.

After a lengthy debate, a proposal in favour of compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes was rejected on the ground that the unions could not afford to throw away such a weapon as the power to strike. The voting was 1,300,000 to 343,000. Compulsory conciliation—*i.e.*, compulsion on both parties to meet and discuss—was received more favourably, but defeated by 740,000 to 655,000.

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A lengthy resolution was moved by W. A. Appleton to define the education policy of the Congress. Among other points it dealt with:—

State maintenance; secular education; medical inspection; technical education; training of teachers: greater imperial grants; and restoration of misapplied endowments.

After a long discussion as to secular education the resolution was carried by 1,239,000 to 126,000. The Congress also condemned the Board of Education's reactionary attitude on secondary education.

Resolutions were then adopted:—

(1) Supporting a miners' eight-hours day; (2) making employers responsible for fines on over-worked drivers; (3) condemning the practice of unpaid Sunday labour on railways.

Saturday, September 7th.

Under the new Standing Orders if only one candidate is nominated to represent his particular trade group on the Parliamentary Committee, he is declared elected unopposed. This was the case with seven of the candidates, whilst 27 went to the ballot for the remaining nine places. The result of the election was as follows:—

ELECTED (16).

G. N. Barnes (Engineers) ..	Unopposed
Richard Bell (Railwaymen)..	,,
C. W. Bowerman (Printing Trades)	,,
D. Cummings (Boilermakers)	,,
A. H. Gill (Cotton Operatives)	,,
James Haslam (Miners).. ..	,,
D. J. Shackleton (Weavers)..	,,
	(Thousands.)
F. Chandler (Building Trades) ..	1,373
A. Wilkie (Shipwrights)	1,302
W. B. Hornidge (Shoemakers) ..	1,238
W. J. Davis (Brassworkers)	1,217
Will Thorne (Gasworkers)	1,097
Ben Cooper (Cigar Makers)	823
J. Sexton (Dockers)	719
W. B. Williams (Musicians)	610
W. Mosses (Patternmakers)	590

NOT ELECTED.

	(Thousands.)
G. T. Jackson (Tramwaymen) ..	572
J. Hayhurst (Bleachers)	541
A. J. Bailey (Union of Labour) ..	509
Miss Hedges (Women Workers) ..	441
H. Gosling (Watermen)	420
J. W. Wignall (Dockers)	420
W. B. Charlton (Enginemen).. ..	404
R. J. Wilson (Co-op. Empl.)	375
T. A. Flynn (Tailors)	308
J. C. Gordon (Tinplate Workers)..	302
E. E. Burns (Plumbers)	190
J. G. Butler (Army Clothing) ..	140
A. Smith (Cabdrivers)	104
P. Walls (Blastfurnacemen)	87
J. Green (York Enginemen)	32
S. Fisher (Coal Trimmers)	17
J. Anderson (Stevedores)	10
M. Murphy (Colliery Enginemen)..	2

D. J. Shackleton and J. Hodge were elected as fraternal delegates to America, and Ben Turner as delegate to the Co-operative Congress, 1908.

Nottingham was selected for the meeting of the Trade Union Congress, 1908.

Resolutions were adopted calling for (1) organisation of the unemployed; (2) housing reform.

At the first meeting of the new Parliamentary Committee, D. J. Shackleton was selected Chairman, and consequently is President-elect of the 1908 Congress, which will be held in Nottingham during the first week in September.

THE third annual report of the International Trade Union Federation shows that in 10 countries of Europe the total membership of trade unions was 4,474,389, out of whom 259,544 were females. A careful estimate for two additional countries—Switzerland and Spain—brings the total for 12 countries to over 4½ millions, divided as follows: England, 1,866,755; Belgium, 148,483; Denmark, 92,627; Sweden, 117,935; Norway, 18,600; Germany, 1,822,343; Austria, 71,173; Servia, 5,074; Bulgaria, 8.300; Switzerland and Spain; about 85,000. Denmark is the country with the relatively highest proportion of trade unionists, no less than 49 per cent. of the people actually engaged in industry being organised. In England, the corresponding figure is 26 per cent., in Germany 24 per cent., in Belgium only 9·5 per cent.

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MOTTO:

"IT IS BY HELPING OTHERS WE BEST HELP OURSELVES."

AN HELPER IN TIME OF TROUBLE!
A COMRADE IN TIME OF CONFLICT!
AN HAVEN OF REST IN OLD AGE!

To be this is the purpose and aim of the

Society of

Amalgamated Toolmakers..

ESTABLISHED 1882.
Registered under Act of Parliament
Affiliated to the General Federation of Trade Unions and the L.R.C.

Paid in Benefits - - - - £55,000
Reserve Fund - - - - £15,000

Copies of Rules, Monthly Record (containing items of general interest), &c., may be obtained on application to the General Secretary,

WILLIAM F. BESTON,
38, John Bright Street, Birmingham.

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PRINCIPAL TRADE UNIONS IN 1907.

Below are given some Principal Trade Unions of the country, together with the latest available returns of Membership, Amount of Accumulated Funds, and the address of the Secretary.

Title of Organisation.	No. of Mem's.	Accum'ted Funds.	Secretary and Office Address.
Actor's Union	500		Kenneth Blackmore, 49, Bedford Street, W.C.
Assurance Agents, Nat. Assoc. of Prudential	2,500	£600	D. Jones, 76, Tempest Road, Beeston Hill, Leeds.
Assurance Agents, National Union of Life	2,685	£700	D. Sheard, 132, Great Ancoats Street, Manchester.
Bakers, Amalgamated Union of Operative (U.K.)	5,000	£4,000	John Jenkins, 16, Paddenswick Road, Hammersmith.
Beamers, Twisters, and Drawers, Amalg. Soc.	5,160	£22 831	W. C. Robinson, 12, Benfield Street. Heywood.
Bedstead Workmen's Assoc.	2,100		W. Mills, 17, Stafford Street, Birmingham.
Blastfurnacemen, National Federation	11,000	£6,400	P. Walls, Moss Bay, Workington.
Bleachers, Dyers, and Kindred Trades' National Fed.	17,510	£9,563	A. Heaton, Dyers' Club and Institute, Bradford.
Bleachers, Dyers, &c. (Bolton) Assoc.	7,800		A. Smalley, 19, Wood Street, Bolton.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders	54,460	£302,100	D. C. Cummings, Lifton House, Eslington Road, Newcastle.
Bookbinders, London, Cons. Society of Journeymen	1,260	£1,250	William Coffey, 1, Gough Square, Fleet Street, E.C.
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, Cons. Union	4,400	£9,600	James Kelly, 37, St. Barnabas Road, Sheffield.
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union	25,708	£93,000	Wm. B. Hornidge, J.P., Trades Hall, St. James Street, Leicester.
Brass Founders and Coppersmith's Union	6,500		T. Jeffers, J.P., 2, Moss Street, Liverpool.
Brassworkers, National Amalgamated Society	7,500	£21,000	W. J. Davis, J.P., 70, Lionel Street, Parade, Birmingham.
Bricklayers' Operative Society	32,830	£104,257	John Batchelor, 46, Southwark Bridge Road, S.E.
Brush Makers, United Society	1,350		S. G. Porter, 49, Shrubland Road, N.E.
Builders' Labourers, United Union	4,000	£5,550	D. Haggerty, 195, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.
Cabinet Makers, Amalg. Union	3,200		F. Smith, 43, Empress Road, Kensington, Liverpool.
Cab Drivers' Union (London)	3,468	£1,689	F. Hill, 21, Flaxman Road, Loughboro Junction, S.E.
Card and Blowing, &c., Op. Assoc. (Bolton District)	8,100	£11,000	Joseph Edge, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalg. Assoc.	38,000	£150,000	W. Mullin, 2a, Hodson's Court, Corporation Street, Manchester.
Card and Blowing Room (Oldham)	14,250		M. Conolloy, 108, Union Street, Oldham.
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society	58,000	£112,000	F. Chandler, J.P., 95, Brunswick St., Ardwick Green, Manchester.
Carpenters and Joiners, General Union of Operative	6,000	£9,500	W. Matkin, J.P., 65, Kennington Oval. S.E.
Carmen's Trade Union (London)	6,120	£3,439	S. March, 9, Upper North Street, Poplar, E.
Carters' United Association of England	1,000		A. Astles, 32, Grosvenor Street, Downing Street, Manchester.
Carters and Lurrymen's Amalgamated Union	3,502		J. Parr, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Cigar Makers' Mutual Association	1,845	£1,506	Ben Cooper, 60, Exmouth Street, Stepney, E.
Coach Makers, United Kingdom Society	9,000	£25,204	C. Kinggate, 118, Portland Street, Manchester.
Cokemen's and Labourers' Association (Durham)	4,036	£7,927	J. Ogg 3, The Avenue, Durham.
Colliery Enginemen's Assoc. (Durham County)	2,593	£14,000	W. B. Charlton, 26, Western Hill, Durham.
Colliery Enginemen, &c. (Mon. and S. Wales)	8,000	£12,000	W. Woosnam, 105, Berw Road, Pontypridd.
Colliery Mechanics (Durham)	3,500	£13,580	J. W. Taylor, M.P., The Avenue, Durham.
Compositors, London Society	12,250	£62,000	T. E. Naylor, 7-9, St. Bride Street, E.C.
Co-operative Employés, Amalgamated Union	18,500	£25,000	A. Hewitt, *Co-operative News* Building, Long Millgate, Manchester

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Title of Organisation.	No. of Mem's.	Accum'ted Funds.	Secretary and Office Address.
Coopers of Great Britain, Association	5,000		John Connell, 32, Gvoan Street, Glasgow.
Dock Labourers, National Union (United Kingdom)	12,000		J. Sexton, 14, Hanover Street, Liverpool.
Dock, Wharf, &c., and General Workers' Union	15,000	£7,220	B. Tillett, 425, Mile End Road, E.
Dyers and Finishers, National Society	2,897	£6,500	A. Heaton, Dyers' Club and Institute, Bradford.
Edinburgh and Leith Carters and Gen. Workers Union			Wm. Queen, 10, Alderbank Terrace, Edinburgh.
Electrical Trades Union	1,500	£1,050	J. Rowan, 135, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.
Enginemen's Protection Assocs., Natl. Feder.	8,590		C. Hearse, 19, Mendip View, Radstock, Bath.
Engineers, Amalgamated Society	110,000	£775,000	G. N. Barnes, M.P., 110, Peckham Road, S.E.
Enginemen, National Amalg. Union of Great Britain	5,174	£7,743	G. Parker, 39, High Street, Rotherham.
Engine, Crane, Boilermen, &c., National Amal.	4,200	£5,850	J. Baker (*pro tem*), 18, Parliament Street Stockton.
Farriers, Amalgamated Society	2,460	£2,704	W. H. Briggs, 232, Bury New Road, Manchester.
Fawcett Association	5,200	£1,200	W. B. Cheesman, 55, Doughty Street, W.C.
Felt Hatters, Amalgamated Society	3,580	£22,800	T. Mallalieu, 113, Manchester Road, Denton, Manchester.
File Cutters (Sheffield)			A. S. Mappin, 96, Springvale Road, Sheffield.
Flaxdressers' Trade Union (Belfast)	1,000	£1,734	Robt. Gageby, Engineers' Hall, Belfast.
Flint Glass Makers, National Society	1,170	£4,333	J. Husselbee, 14, Fenton Street, Brierley Hill, Staffs.
French Polishers, Amalgamated Society	900		Albt. A. Purcell, 142, Great Clowes Street, Broughton, Manch'ter
French Polishers, London United	1,000		E Rudd, 42, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.
Furnishing Trades Association, National Amal.	6,500	£9,900	Alex. Gossip, 72, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.
Gasworkers, Brickmakers, &c., Am. Soc. (Birmingham)	4,200	£4,100	H. Simpson, 34, Ruskin Buildings, Birmingham.
Gas Workers and General Labourers, National Union	34,000		W. Thorne, M.P., 172, Pentonville Road, King's Cross, N.
Glass Bottle Makers' Socy. Un. Tr. Prot. Soc. (Yorks)	2,800	£34,749	A. Greenwood, 2, Wesley Street, Castleford.
Hosiery Federation, National	2,220		J. Holmes, Exchange Buildings, Leicester.
Ironfounders' Friendly Society (Great Britain)	19,115		J. Maddison, 164, Chorlton Road, Brooks Bar, Manchester.
Iron Moulders, Associated (Scotland)	8,158	£89,200	J. M. Jack, 221, W. George Street, Glasgow.
Iron and Steel Workers, Associated (United Kingdom)	7,000	£19,000	Jas. Cox, J.P., 6, Mount Pleasant, Darlington.
Labour, National Amalgamated Union	24,000	£10,000	R. Spence, 4, Higham Place, Newcastle.
Labourers (General) Amalg. Uuion	3,000		T. Coffers, 45, Aybrook Street, W.
Labourers' Union of Great Britain	3,226		H. W. Williams, 29, Rutland Street, Swansea.
Labour, Amalgamated (British)	2,000	£2,040	Tom Fox, 5, Repton Street, Manchester.
Labour Protection League	3,500	£3,500	Arthur Harris, 96, Neptune Street, Rotherhithe, S.E.
Lace Makers, Amalgamated Society of Operative	3,200	£45,479	Wm. A. Appleton, Pembridge Place, Mount Street, Nottingham.
Lacemakers (Long Eaton & District)			S. Truman, Oakley's Road, Long Eaton, Nottingham
Leather Workers, Amalgamated Society	800		E. J. Lapping, 9, Moorland Place, Hyde Park Road, Leeds.
Litho Artists, Designers, Engravers, Am. Society	1,550	£7,200	Robt. Barnes, 20, Cooper Street, Manchester.
Litho Printers, Amalg. Soc.	4,400	£15,000	Geo. D. Kelley, M.P., 63, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.
Loom Overlookers, Gen. Union of Assoc.	5,100		J. E. Tattersall, Belvedere, Caril Av., Moston, Manchester.
Locomotive Engine and Firemen, Associated Society	19,600	£144,380	Albert Fox, 8, Park Square, Leeds.
Machine Workers, Associated Union	5,320	£11,000	M. Arrandale, 212, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.
Metal Wire and Tube Workers, National Society	2,000		W. J. Davis, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.
Metal Trades Federation of Great Britain	60,000		Chas. Hobson, 3, Alpine Road, Sheffield.
Midland Counties Trades' Federation	1,600	£3,000	J. Taylor, 63, Vicar Street, Dudley.

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Title of Organisation.	No. of Mem's.	Accum'ted Funds.	Secretary and Office Address.
Miners' Federation (Great Britain)	350,000	£27,208	T. Ashton, 925, Ashton Old Road, Manchester.
Miners' Federal Union (Ayrshire)	9,400	£8,500	Peter Muir, James Street, Dalry.
Miners' Association (Bristol)	2,600		W. Whitfield, St. George's, Bristol.
Miners' Assoc. (Clackmanan)	1,000	£3,500	Jas. Cook, 9, Devon Village, by Alloa, N.B.
Miners' and Quarrymen's Association (Cleveland)	6,688		G. B. Hobbs, 19, Ruby Street, Saltburn.
Miners' Association (Cumberland)	5,000		Andrew Sharp, J.P., 77, Senhouse Street, Maryport.
Miners' Association (Durham)	89,914	£322,942	J. Wilson, 16, North Road, Durham.
Miners' Association (Derbyshire)	34,000		Jas. Haslam, M.P., Miners' Offices, Saltergate, Chesterfield.
Miners' Association (Forest of Dean)	2 000		R. Buffany, St. John's, Cinderford, Gloucester.
Miners' Association (Fife and Kinross)	16,000	£54,000	John Weir, Victoria Street, Dunfermline.
Miners' Federation (Lancashire and Cheshire)	55,000	£45,000	Thos. Ashton, 925, Ashton Old Road, Manchester.
Miners' Lanarkshire County Union	34,000	£85,000	D. Gilmour, Miners' Offices, Hamilton.
Miners' Association (Mid. and E. Lothian)	3,750	£11,000	Robt. Brown, Miners' Offices, Dalkeith.
Miners' Association (Nottinghamshire)	27,660	£183,750	Jno. G. Hancock, Miners' Offices, Nottingham Road, Nottingham.
Miners' Mutual Con. Association (Northumberland)	24,411	£129,000	W. Straker, Burt Hall, Northumberland Road, Newcastle.
Miners' Federation (North Staffordshire)			E. Edwards, M.P., Miners' Hall, Moorland Road, Burslem.
Miners' Association (Somerset)	4,000		S. H. Whitehouse, Radstock, Bath.
Miners' Federation (South Wales)	160 000		Thos. Richards, M.P., Ty Cendl, Beaufort, Mon.
Miners' Association and Relief Society (Warwickshire)	8,000	£40,000	Wm. Johnson, M.P., Miners' Offices, Bedworth.
Miners' Association (Yorkshire)	60,000		John Wadsworth, Miners' Offices, 2, Huddersfield Road, Barnsley.
Municipal Employees' Association	15,780	£4,299	Richard Davies, 923, Romford Road, Manor Park, E.
Musicians' Union, Amalgamated	4,000		J. B. Williams, 135, Moss Lane East, Manchester.
Navvies, Builders' Labourers, and G.L. Union	1,000		J. Ward, M.P., 126, Elmsleigh Road, Wandsworth, S.W.
Painters and Decorators, Operative House and Ship	16,640	£37,859	G. M. Sunley, J.P., 4, Camp St., Lower Broughton, Manchester.
Painters and Decorators (Scottish)	3 240	£4.200	A. Gardner, 109, Hope Street, Glasgow.
Pattern Makers, United Association	6,405	£56,000	W. Mosses, 32, Street Lane, Roundhay, Leeds.
Plasterers, Operative, National Association	7,800	£20,000	T. H. Otley 37, Albert Street, Mornington Crescent, N.W.
Plumbers, United Op. Asso. (Great Britain and Ireland)	12,000	£27,479	E. E. Burns, 81, Clapham Road, London.
Postal Clerks' Association (United Kingdom)	5,940		E. Lea, 30, Stanwell Road, Swinton, Manchester.
Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association	8,600		Wm. Johnson, 8, Pearl Assurance Buildings, Liverpool.
Postmen's Federation	34,000		Alex. MacLaren, 125, Howard Street, Glasgow.
Postmen's Association (London Central)	900		J. Frampton, 29, Frome Street, Islington, N.
Pottery Workers, Natl. Amalg. Soc.	4,000		J. Lovatt, 119, Gilman Street, Hanley.
Power Loom Overlookers' Am. Assoc. (Blackburn)	3,200		R. B. Dodgson, 160, Cedar Street, Blackburn.
Power Loom, &c., Accrington and District Association	3,700	£7,965	Henry Heap, 163, Wellington Street, Accrington.
Power Loom Carpet-Weavers' Mu. Def. and Prov. Assoc.	950	£10,820	Geo. Rawkins, 105, Mill Street, Kidderminster.
Printers' Assistants, Operative	3,000		E. Smith, 26, Blackfriars Road, S.E.
Printers' Warehousemen and Cutters	3,600	£3,748	A. Evans, Fetter Lane, E.C.
Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society (London)	2,000	£10,311	H. W. Howes, 45, Blackfriars Road, S.E.
Quarrymen's Union (North Wales)	2,210		D. R. Daniel, Four Crosses, Chwilog, North Wales.
Railway Servants, Amalgamated Society	106,000	£370,000	Richard Bell, M.P., 72, Acton Street, W.C.
Railway Workers' Union, General	8,000	£5,000	T. Lowth, 27, Green Street, Ardwick Green, Manchester.

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Title of Organisation.	No. of Mem's.	Accum'ted Funds.	Secretary and Office Address.
Railway Clerks' Association	9,000		A. G. Walkden, 337, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.
Saddlers, Harness, and Collar Makers' Union	800	£3,400	G. Ollier, 32, Greenhill Road, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.
Seamen and Firemen's Union	8 000		J. H. Wilson, M.P., Maritime Hall, Poplar, E.
Salt, Alkali Workers' Federation	1,629	£2,626	W. Gillett, 370, Station Road, Winsford.
Scientific Instrument Makers	1,000		J. W. Clark, 41, Cowcross, Street, London, E.C.
Shipwrights, Associated Society	20 000	£145,000	Alex. Wilkie, M.P., Wilkie Chambers, Eldon Square, Newcastle.
Shop Assistants, National Amalgamated Union	23,000	£20,000	Jas. Macpherson, 122, Gower Street, W.C.
Smiths and Strikers, United Kingdom Society	3,900	£5 600	Geo. Ashcroft, 21, Manor Street, Ardwick, Manchester.
Spinners, Amalgamated Association Operative	22,100	£500 000	Wm. Marsland 3, Blossom Street, Manchester.
Spinners, Oldham Operative Cotton			Thos. Ashton, M.P., 39, Belmont Street, Oldham.
Spinners and Piecers, Provincial Association	5,000		A. H. Gill, M.P., 61, Hampden Street, Bolton.
Steel and Iron Workers, Amal. Society (Great Britain)	6 300	£21,000	J. Gavin, 90, Mitchell Street, Glasgow.
Steam Engine Makers' Society	12,000	£85,000	W. F. Dawtry, Market Buildings, Thomas Street, Manchester.
Steel Smelters, &c. (British Amalgamated Association)	15,300	£74,800	J. Hodge, M.P., Ormond Mansions, Gt. Ormond Street, W.C.
Steelworkers, National Association	1,344		G. Beadle, Horwell House, Harrogate, Darlington.
Stevedores, Amalgamated Labour Protection League	3,600	£7,800	J. Anderson, Maritime Hall, Poplar, E.
Stonemasons, Friendly Society Operative (Gt. Britain)	17 000		W. Hancock, 27, John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.
Stove Grate Makers	1,000		W. Knowles, Effingham Street, Rotherham.
Tailors, &c., Amalgamated Society	15,330	£9,400	Terrence A. Flynn, 415, Oxford Road, Manchester.
Telephone Operators, Natl. Assoc.	1,000		Miss E. Glen, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.
Textile Operatives' Society of Ireland	3,200	£700	Mary Galway, Avenue Hall, Garfield Street, Belfast.
Theatrical Employees Assoc.	1,000		Wm. Johnson, 29, Wellington Street, W.C.
Tin and Iron Plate, Sheet Metal, &c., Nat. Amal.	7,000	£32,000	J. Charles Gordon, 41, Clapham Road, S.W.
Tin and Sheet Mill, Men's Association	1,837	£4,850	I. H. Gwynne, 6, Belle Vue Street, Swansea.
Tool Makers, Amalgamated	3,700	£15,000	W. F. Beston, 38, John Bright Street, Birmingham.
Tramway and Vehicle Workers, Am. Association	14,000	£23,500	G. T. Jackson, J.P., 5, Leaf Square, Pendleton.
Typographical Association	18 993	£53,705	H. Skinner, Caxton Hall, Salford, Manchester.
Typographical Society, Ireland	1,200	£4,000	Thos. Collins, 33, Denmark Street, Dublin.
Typographical Association (Scottish)	4,030	£13,700	John Templeton, Baltic Chambers, 50, Wellington St., Glasgow.
Upholsterers, Amalgamated Union	2,000		Lewis Leckie, 45, Lawford Road, Kentish Town.
Variety Artistes Federation	2,500		M. Bayley, 28, Wellington Street, W.C.
Watermen (Amalgamated Society of Lightermen)	3,000		H. Gosling, L.C.C., 29, Trinity Square, E.C.
Weavers, Winders, &c. (Blackburn District)	14 500		Dr. Gouldsbrough, 2, Eastwood Street, Blackburn.
Weavers, Winders (Bolton District)	2,500		W. Melling, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Weavers, Power Loom, Prot. Society (Blackburn)	3,600		R. B. Dodgson, Princes Street, Blackburn.
Weavers (Northern Counties Amalgamated Association)	105,000		J. Cross, Ewbank Chambers, Accrington.
Weavers, Winders, &c. (Clitheroe)	2,000		Austin H. Cottam, J.P., Weavers' Institute, Clitheroe.
Weavers, Winders, &c., Association (Darwen)	8,300		John Parkington, 21, Victoria Street, Darwen.
Weavers' Association (Nelson and District)	10,400		W. Ward, 112, Railway Street, Nelson
Wire Drawers of Great Britain (Amalgamated)	2,000		J. Bramwell, 321, Gleadless Road, Heeley, Sheffield.
Women Workers, Natl. Fed.	2 800		Miss Louisa Hedges, Club Union Bdgs., Clerkenwell Road, E.C.
Woodcutting Machinists, Amalgamated Society	4,635	£7,926	T. Park, 33, Plymouth Avenue, Manchester.
Wool Sorters, National Union	1,000	£3,398	T. Grundy, Albert Buildings, Bradford.

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Total Funds - - - nearly	£2,000,000
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LABOUR DISPUTES IN 1907.

Belfast.

In 1907 Belfast was again a storm centre. The spindle makers' wage dispute, begun in October, 1906, continued into the summer of 1907 with indefinite results. In May, a case of victimisation led to a strike of tobacco-workers, which, however, ended speedily with unconditional surrender. On June 1st, the iron-moulders began a strike for 2s. advance, which threw out some 2,350 workers, and lasted for seven weeks, when it was compromised at 1s. advance.

Meanwhile, all through May and June there was constant friction between the dockers and the shipping companies, both as to conditions of employment and recognition of their union. On June 26th some 160 dockers struck work because the company refused to receive notice of grievances through the union official, and the following day 200 carters followed suit. A week later the employers retaliated by locking out 1,100 carters and labourers. Soon after nearly 900 coal porters and drivers came out. As the strikers tried to stop the loading of carts, a large force of police were kept constantly on duty. Owing to their own overwork, and sympathy with the strikers, the police now commenced to hold meetings of their own and demand pay for overtime. Their action was applauded by the R.I.C. all through Ireland, and received popular support in Belfast. The employers of the police and of the strikers being, of course, virtually the same persons, they took the peremptory and fatal step of drafting soldiers and Maxim guns into the city until it became an armed camp. The greater part of the population now took the part of the strikers, popular feeling grew steadily inflamed, and on the evening of Sunday, August 11th, a large and disorderly crowd was first charged with bayonet and sabre, and, on replying with stones and bottles, was fired into, houses afterwards being broken into and wrecked by police and soldiers. In the course of the riot over a hundred police and soldiers were wounded, hundreds of civilians injured, and two men and one woman shot dead.

This caused such a painful sensation that the Government peremptorily withdrew the soldiers, when the excitement at once subsided.

Meanwhile, the coal porters had on July 25th come to terms with their employers. Sir Antony MacDonnell now conferred with Allan Gee and Isaac Mitchell, and together with them negotiated with the employers. By the end of August the dispute had terminated.

The Music-hall Strike.

A strike of music-hall artistes early in the year naturally aroused unusual public interest, and was appropriately dramatic both in its inception and development. Although at first it only affected some 300 artistes, many of these were persons whose names are "household words" with the public. In its development, the strike spread to all classes of variety-hall employees, including the musicians, for the concentration of the "halls" in the hands of a few syndicates has had the result of making terms of employment harder for all classes.

The Variety Artistes' Federation having submitted to the managements a new form of agreement more favourable to the artistes, and many of the principal managers having declined to accept it, on January 21st a strike was declared against one of the syndicates, and the managers of several leading halls were obliged to close their houses in consequence not only of artistes, but also musicians and stage hands leaving work in a body. From that time the strike was conducted by the joint action of the Variety Artistes' Federation, Theatrical

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Employees' Association, and Musicians' Union. The majority of the "stars" took part with the rank and file of artistes, and the Federation rapidly increased in numbers. A large section of the public, including the trade-union leaders, took sides with the artistes, and the managers found themselves bound to agree to negotiations. A striking feature of the dispute was that the artistes appealed to the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee. As a consequence, W. C. Steadman, M.P., and Alderman Isaac Mitchell, L.C.C., were appointed to represent the Parliamentary Committee in the negotiations. On February 14th the parties applied to the Board of Trade for an arbitrator, and Mr. G. R. Askwith was appointed in that capacity.

Interim awards were issued to enable work to be resumed by all parties, but it was four months later before the Arbitrator was in the position to decide on the complicated, and in many respects novel, questions arising. The importance of his award will be seen in the fact that it settles until June, 1912,—five years from date of award—the future terms of the engagement of all music hall artistes throughout Great Britain and Ireland, and the wages, hours, and conditions of service of all musicians, stage hands, carpenters, &c., employed at music-halls in London. The award fills 10 pages of the octavo blue-book in which it is published. (See Sixth Report, Conciliation in Trades Disputes, 1905-1907.)

As affecting musicians and stage hands, the chief reform effected is in regard to wages and hours. As affecting artistes, the significant point of the award is that certain model clauses are drawn up for agreements, and these are to be obligatory in all contracts. One of the most important of these clauses is the "barring" clause, viz., that by which a management debars an artiste from appearing at the halls of a rival management in the same district until a certain time has elapsed, or from booking a rival engagement to appear beforehand. The Arbitrator drew up certain "maximum bars" which might be inserted, and nothing beyond that will be legal.

An interesting sequel was the appearance of the Variety Artistes' Federation (2,500), and Actors' Union (486), at the Trade Union Congress, together with the Musicians Union (3,000), and Theatrical Employees Union (970), which have before been represented.

"Bad Materials."

The disputes in the Lancashire cotton trade over the supply of bad working materials continued to the end of the year. On December 28th, some 600 Burnley weavers went out on this account, but returned on the employer promising better material in future.

During 1907 strikes on the same grounds occurred in Burnley (March 2nd), Heywood (January 24th), Blackburn (April 17th), Bacup (May 8th), Nelson (February 27th), and Burnley (March 28th). This latter strike lasted 19 weeks, Heywood lasted eight weeks, and Nelson 14 weeks. All were settled by compensation to workers for time lost by breakage of materials.

South Wales Miners.

The strike of 15,000 miners in Rhondda Valley and Pontypridd, which began in November, 1906, was settled by all the non-unionists joining the Federation, and men in arrears paying up. Strikes of 1,600 hewers at Mountain Ash and several smaller strikes in South Wales were settled amicably before the close of the year.

Throughout 1907 the South Wales Miners continued to strike one district after the other, against non-unionists and men in arrears. A feature of all these strikes was the active part played by the women. In each case they ended in the attainment of the objects aimed at.

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Hebden Bridge Weavers.

A strike of weavers at Hebden Bridge, commenced in July, 1906, lasted for over seven months. Some 500 men and women had struck against a wage rate 10 per cent. below list prices. It was not until the summer of 1907, that a settlement was reached. A striking feature of this dispute was the part p'ayed in 1907 by the Women's Social and Political Union organisers, several of whom were fined for their part in organising the women weavers and reviving their enthusiasm and determination.

Jute.

In March some 2,500 Dundee jute spinners, weavers, and others were involved in the spinners' demand for an advance which failed. In May over 800 workers were involved in a dispute over shortage of materials in which the workers were again defeated, as they had been in October, 1906, over the grievance of bad materials.

The Manchester cap-makers' disputes attracted some attention as they led to exciting scenes in the streets. There is a colony of some 20,000 Jewish workers in Strangeways, Manchester, and trade unionism is beginning to spread among them. As a consequence of Jewish cap-makers joining the Hat and Cap Makers' Union they were victimised. There was a prolonged dispute throughout March, when police protection was afforded to non-unionists. There was trouble at intervals during the summer. Early in August, the Employers' Association took the opportunity on a technical dispute to lock-out all members of the Union from the association factories. On August 30th the Board of Trade arranged terms of settlement by which the employers are not to object to the trade union until February 1st, 1908, at which time the Board of Trade will again intervene.

In June some grievances of the fitters, turners, and others employed at Vickers, Sons, and Maxim's Erith works reached a head, and on the 11th over 1,100 men came out, principally as a protest against the working of the premium bonus system, time limits from cards, and operation inspectors. Nearly 150 other men were also thrown idle. After the strike had lasted one month it ended in a compromise.

In August a local strike over the respective work of caulkers and apprentices, an old subject of trouble, caused the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation to post notices that all members of the Boilermakers' Society would be locked out on August 24th, an action affecting 52,000 men. The Society offered to order the strikers back to work, but the employers refused to withdraw their notices until a Conference had been held to make agreements which would obviate strikes and lock-outs except as extreme measures. Subsequently agreements were entered into as to negotiations over disputes.

The year 1907 saw further unrest in Paisley among the employees of the Coats combine. Towards the end of September the manager of Clark's Anchor Mills decided to reduce the pay on a new and more productive turning machine being worked by boys' labour. In consequence, the boys struck, and went straight out. A number of the girls in the polishing department, who have been chafing for years under their own grievances, followed suit, and the entire work of the mills, employing 5,000 women and girls was brought to a standstill. The girls were very determined in their attitude and on several occasions came into collision with the police. Offers to remedy the grievances were received from the firm, and the strikers returned to work.

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THE RAILWAY CRISIS IN 1907.

THE railway companies as employers were well before the eye of the public during 1907, owing to the railwaymen's great agitation, which came to be known as the "All Grades" movement.

Some of the grievances of the men are detailed below.

At one time a long and disastrous strike seemed inevitable, but on November 6th representatives of the companies and the unions agreed to a scheme of Conciliation and Arbitration Boards proposed by the Board of Trade.

The New Scheme.

The general outlines of the scheme are as follows:—

Boards to be formed for each company which agrees. (The majority of the companies, including all the principal lines, had agreed at the outset).

The employees to be grouped in sections and districts, each district electing representatives to the Sectional Boards.

Each Sectional Board to deal with a group of allied grades, *e.g.*, (*a*) Enginemen and Firemen, (*b*) Signalmen and Pointsmen.

Each Sectional Board to send representatives to a Central Conciliation Board with power to settle questions remitted to it on the motion of either side.

In the event of the Conciliation Boards being unable to arrive at an agreement, or either the company or the men failing to carry out its decision, reference to be made to an Arbitrator.

The Arbitrator to be appointed by agreement of parties, or, failing that, by the Speaker and the Master of the Rolls.

The scheme to last for at least six years, and after that only terminable by 12 months' notice from either side.

It will be seen (1) that the settlement means the abandonment of the men's claim for the independent recognition of their union, the Boards being representative of companies and employees as a whole, and ignoring the unions as such; (2) that as the men are to be divided into grades, the "All Grades" movement has also been abandoned; (3) that as the men's representatives are to be chosen only from among themselves they will have the somewhat unenviable task of trying to enforce their claims upon their own district Managers and in the presence of one of their Directors.

The Men's Case.

There are some 545,000 employees of railway companies. In the first place we have 80,000 mechanics and 54,000 labourers, a total of 134,000 employed in shops or on works. Those more usually termed "railway workers" include 65,000 permanent-way men, 52,000 porters, 46,000 locomotive men, 28,000 pointsmen and signalmen, 15,000 brakemen and goods' guards, 7,000 passenger guards, 10,000 shunters, 9,000 inspectors, 8,000 stationmasters, 3,000 ticket collectors, and 3,000 gate-keepers. These classes total to 246,000.

Then there are 165,000 of "Other Classes," including the whole of the directing and management staff, as well as clerks, foremen, canvassers, &c. (See also article on page 136.) Many of these are highly useful servants, but probably not less than one-half are well-paid but entirely unremunerative persons.

The companies' officials are apt to mislead the public by quoting sums which include the payments to these drones.

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What the workers really get may be seen by the facts stated by Mr. Bell at the great Albert Hall meeting on November 3rd, 1907 :—

50,000	men receive	from	26s. to 30s.
88,000	,, ,,	,,	21s. to 25s.
78,000	,, ,,	,,	16s. to 20s.
16,200	,, ,,	,,	12s. to 15s.
7,200	,, ,,	under	12s.
239,400			

This covers the bulk of the rank and file.

As to hours, it is not always easy to arrive at the exact truth, but fortunately the Board of Trade is becoming increasingly active in examining complaints, and in the latest Return on Railway Servants' Hours of Labour (August, 1907) an appalling state of affairs is revealed.

Major Pringle found that 19 trainmen whose conditions he examined gave the following averages :—

No. of Turns per Week.	Length of Turn.	Working Week.	Minimum Week.	Maximum Week.
5·9	12h. 30m.	73h. 31m.	60h. 10m.	82h. 20m.

These apparently were regular conditions, but the special complaints examined by the Inspector showed *an average working turn of no less than* 17 *hours* 20 *minutes.* Yet in the majority of these cases only 10 hours or less was allowed between two turns.

There are at least 100,000 railway men who work over 12 hours per day. It must also be remembered that the railwayman's working week is one of seven days.

In addition to such long hours for such miserable pay the railwayman runs exceptional risks. In the course of a year the killed equal about one in a thousand, and the injured nearly one in a hundred. In the 10 years ended 1906 no fewer than 5,238 men lost their lives, while 146,767 were injured.

The All-grades Movement.

To cope with all these evils the "All Grades" Movement was commenced during 1906. The significance of this movement was that the better-organised grades are ready and willing to help the less organised, otherwise at the companies' mercy.

The principal points in the All Grades programme were :—

An eight or ten hour day, according to class.

A minimum of nine hours' rest before duty.

Overtime of a rate and a quarter minimum.

Sunday duty to be regarded as distinct from the ordinary week's work, and to be paid at a minimum of rate and a half.

An immediate advance of 2s. a week to all grades who do not receive the eight-hour day.

All grades in London to be paid a minimum of 3s. a week above the wages paid in the country; and

Abolition of the system of working with only one man in motor-cabs on electric railways.

Throughout the winter of 1906 and spring of 1907 the Unions were recruiting members, and carrying on a series of meetings in support of their programme.

The men's programme was laid before the railway companies, but after private conferences between the directors, the companies—with the exception of the North-eastern and Metropolitan, which already recognise the Union—

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were unanimous in refusing any consideration of the men's grievances, or any question of recognising the unions in negotiation.

The Amalgamated Society and General Railway Workers' Unions accordingly decided to ballot all members engaged in handling traffic, as to whether they were prepared to strike if the companies persisted in their attitude.

Mr. Bell, however, approached the Railway Association of the Companies and offered to meet them to discuss what the proposed "representation" of the Unions should cover. This diplomatic offer brought the railwaymen the support of a large part of the press, but on October 12th the Association refused to entertain the idea of any conference of any kind with the Unions.

On October 20th delegates of the following Unions met at Manchester and decided upon common action :—

Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, 105,000 ; Enginemen and Firemen, 20,000 ; General Railway Workers, 8,000 ; Pointsmen and Signalmen, 3,000 ; Railway Clerks, 10,000 ; Total, 146,000.

The Railway Clerks' Association took the courageous step of advising its members to refuse to take the duties of other classes of employees on strike.

On Sunday, November 3rd, at the Albert Hall, Mr. Bell announced the result of the Amalgamated Society's ballot as follows :—

For a strike, 76,925 ; against, 8,773 ; majority for the strike, 68,152.

The Settlement.

Meanwhile, the prospect of a disastrous struggle had thoroughly alarmed the public, and urgent representations were made to the Government as to the necessity of interference. As a result, Mr. Lloyd-George, President of the Board of Trade, intervened, and after a series of interviews with both parties, commencing on October 25th and terminating on November 6th, the principle of Conciliation and Arbitration was agreed upon.

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THE UNEMPLOYED IN 1907.

ALL the hopes raised by the appointment of Mr. John Burns to the Local Government Board, and his inclusion in the Cabinet, have been disappointed. Most of all is this the case where the hopes were highest, namely, as to some serious attempt to grapple with the organisation of the Unemployed. He has in no way improved on the Act of the Unionist Government, and has, indeed, shown himself less sympathetic and less favourable to organising developments than were his immediate predecessors.

He has referred to schemes of afforestation, coast reclamation, &c., as "paliatives," and has alleged that the legislation and finance of the Liberal Government would solve the Unemployed problem. When criticised in Parliament (March 27th, 1907) by the Labour Party for having withheld nearly half of the promised £200,000 for Distress Committees he replied that every Distress Committee with any scheme of work had "more money in hand than was necessary." Yet at the same time he has been refusing to sanction expenditure on useful schemes such as the Poplar scheme at Laindon, the abandonment of which involved a loss of several thousands of pounds.

His attitude has been cold, official, and unsympathetic, and he caused consternation in October, 1907, by deciding that Labour Bureaux shall not exclude employers from their registers on account of being sweaters or unfair employers.

Winter Distress.

With the opening of the year 1907 distress was widespread, especially in East and South London. In West Ham alone over 10,000 persons were affected. Distress Committees all through the country were appealing for charitable donations, and pressing the Local Government Board for funds, and starting such works as means allowed.

On January 1st, 1907, there were 17,560 names on the books of the 51 London and Provincial Labour Bureaux. This was despite the facts (1) that during December occupations had been found by the bureaux for 3,400 persons; (2) that the Distress Committees had provided periods of work for 8,245 persons, the aggregate numbers of days worked being 67,790, and the total wages paid £10,104; and (3) that many of the local authorities had also engaged large numbers of men in shovelling snow and street cleaning, although no figures are available in this connection.

Further, the above figures apply almost entirely to men belonging to no trade union or to unions without out-of-work benefit funds, and probably embrace few or none of those returned to the Labour Department by the leading trade unions. Out of some 600,000 members of these unions, nearly 30,000 were upon out-of-work pay when the new year opened.

From January to April the numbers of Unemployed among skilled workers decreased from 4·9 per cent. to 3·3 per cent. Among unskilled workers they also showed a decrease, partly due to the work of Distress Committees, of the Labour Bureaux, and of local authorities, apart from Distress Committees. The number of applicants on the books of the London and Provincial Bureaux at the end of each month up to April were as follows: January, 23,814; February, 21,859; March, 19,735; April, 17,435.

The numbers provided with relief work by the Distress Committees during the first quarter of the year were: January, 13,158: February, 14,621; March, 15,398.

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Municipal Schemes.

Several councils also started small but permanent works in the way of land reclamation—such as Manchester's schemes for reclaiming land at Boggart Hole Clough and Chat Moss, and the Dudley Council scheme for converting waste land to garden allotments; but these experiments, although on the right lines, could hardly seriously affect the problem.

Meanwhile, contrary to Mr. Burns's promise to the House that £200,000 should be distributed by the end of March, 1907, barely half of that sum was by that time distributed, as Mr. Burns himself had to admit in reply to Keir Hardie's strictures in the House on March 27th.

More Unemployed in Summer.

During the Summer of 1907 the numbers of men unemployed, both of skilled and unskilled workers, has steadily increased, this not being due to a heavy fluctuation in any one industry, but to a movement covering a large number of industries, including the building trades.

The effect of this movement is shown in the numbers of applicants on the books of the Labour Bureaux, which was at the end of May no fewer than 15,775; at the end of June, 16,125; and in July rose to 17,608.

The Registrar-General's percentages of Unemployed for the principal unions were: April, 3·3; May, 3·4; June, 3·6; July, 3·7; August, 4·0; September, 4·6; October, 4·7.

The Labour Bureaux.

During the 10 months from December 1st, 1906, to September 30th, 1907, the number of applicants registering for employment at the 50 Metropolitan and Provincial Labour Bureaux was just upon 120,000. Of these the Bureaux found occupation for over 30,000, and were the means of directing many more to likely quarters of employment. The Local Government Board has decided (October, 1907) that the Bureaux shall not require employers to conform to a fair wage standard before being registered on their books. Thus the Labour Bureaux may become an official means of supplying "blacklegs" to undersell and oust unionists.

Distress Committees.

The reports of the Distress Committees for the four winter months, December 1st, 1906, to March 31st, 1907, show that a total of 51,422 applicants were given employment relief amounting to an aggregate of 522,321 days, or 10·1 days per head per month; the wages earned amounting to £79,614, or £1. 10s. 10d. per head. At March 31st, the names of 8,130 applicants for employment stood on the books of the Distress Committees.

(A special article on Unemployment appears on page 146.)

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Mrs. PANKHURST.

Founder and Hon. Sec. of the National Women's Social and Political Union. *Biography on page 235.*

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WOMEN AND WOMEN'S WORK.

THE most interesting feature of the progress of women during the year 1907 was the agitation for the suffrage. In this country that agitation made enormous progress during the year, and is everywhere admitted at the present time to be one of the prominent political questions of the day. In Finland, where the Franchise was accorded to women in 1906, a general election took place on March 15th and 16th. Nineteen women were elected to the legislature, including nine Socialists. In Norway women were granted the franchise on June 14th, 1907, and will vote at the next general election. In other countries, stimulated by the agitation in England, much progress was made. There were deputations to ministers in France. A Suffrage Bill was fully discussed in the Chamber in Italy. In Holland a State Commission reported in favour of extending the franchise to women. A special German conference of women suffragists was held in Frankfurt, September 24th to 27th, and in Sweden there was a vigorous agitation throughout the whole year.

Other events of interest have been the passing of the Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act, by which women are enabled to sit on County and Borough Councils, the holding of the Conference of Socialist women at Stuttgart. On the question of sweating a number of exhibitions have been held in different parts of the country, and a select committee has been at work investigating the facts.

THE SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN.

The Reformers' Year Book for 1907 carried the account of the Suffrage movement in the United Kingdom up to the end of November, 1906. At that time nine of the women who were arrested on October 24th were still in prison. On November 27th they were released by order of the Home Secretary before the end of their two months' sentence, and a banquet was held in their honour at the Savoy Hotel on December 11th. This was organised by a large number of women who had hitherto held aloof from the militant campaign, and marked a new era in the unity of the movement. The Huddersfield election was fought in the early part of December, women being prominent in their campaign in opposition to the Liberal nominee, Mr. Sherwell. In the final result, the Liberal majority fell from 489 to 340.

The House of Commons during the third week of December was the scene of three striking "descents" on the part of the members of the Women's Social and Political Union.

The first occasion was on Thursday, December 13th, when a demonstration was effected at the Strangers' door to the House of Commons by a woman mounting a box and commencing to address the crowd. The police immediately closed the door, and refused to allow the meeting to proceed. Four women were arrested for refusing to give way, and a fifth (Mrs. MacDougall) was taken into custody because she would not leave Mrs. Knight, who had been knocked down in the scuffle. Brought before the magistrate next day, they refused to call witnesses in their defence, and were given the alternative of 20s. fine or 14 days. They all chose the latter.

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The second attack was on Monday evening, December 17th. This time they penetrated into the inner lobby of the House, and an address was commenced near the Iddesleigh statue. They were forcibly ejected by the police, but at the door were met by a large number of women come to demand the vote. The police found considerable difficulty in clearing the entry, and in the end eleven arrests were effected. They were all sentenced next day to 20s. or 14 days, and all elected to go to prison; but Mrs. Hill's brother having paid her fine for her, against her wish, she was accordingly released.

The third attack, on December 20th (the last working day of Parliament), was the most dramatic of all, for Mrs. Drummond, who led it, arrived by stratagem within a few yards of the Speaker's Chair itself. Meanwhile two other simultaneous assaults were made at different points, and the police were at their wits' end to cope with the demonstration. Eventually five arrests were made, including Mrs. Hill, who was determined to make a further protest. As before, they were each sentenced to 20s. or 14 days, but Mrs. Hill, as it was her second offence, was required to pay £1, or three weeks' imprisonment.

In January, 1907, took place the Belfast Conference of the Labour Party, when the position of Labour towards the Women's Movement was definitely defined. Mr. Wishart moved a resolution which read as follows:—

> That this Conference declares in favour of adult suffrage and the equality of the sexes, and urges an immediate extension of the rights of suffrage and of election to women on the same conditions as to men.

Mr. Quelch moved as an amendment:—

> That this annual Conference of the Labour party declares that the time has arrived when equal voting rights should be extended to all men and women, and is further of opinion that any suggested measure to extend the franchise on a property qualification to a section only, is a retrograde step, and should be opposed.

After a short discussion, and in spite of a pronouncement by Keir Hardie against the amendment, the amendment was carried by 605,000 to 268,000. The result of this vote was the final severance of the Women's Movement from the Labour Movement, which had been in prospect for some time past.

On February 9th, the constitutional suffragists organised a procession of women from Hyde Park to Exeter Hall. The meeting was attended by large numbers, and, but for the inclemency of the weather, was remarkably successful. In the afternoon a great demonstration was held in Exeter Hall, which was addressed by Keir Hardie, Mr. Zangwill, and others.

The Opening of Parliament.

The militant suffragists waited for the opening of Parliament on February 12th, and finding that there was no reference to Women's Suffrage in the King's Speech, took action on the following day. At a meeting held in the Caxton Hall on February 13th it was decided that the whole body of people present in the hall would march out in procession with the view of entering the House of Commons and presenting a petition in favour of their claim to the Prime Minister. The peaceful procession was met by a posse of mounted police and acts of violence ensued. Many women were knocked down and trampled upon and finally 56 were arrested. Miss Christabel Pankhurst was among those brought before the magistrate on the next day, and, standing in the dock, made the following statement:—

> I do not wish to charge the police with exceeding their orders or going too far. But I wish it to be understood that several of our members have suffered seriously, and the whole of the responsibility lies with the authorities who instructed the police to use every measure to clear the way. It is our way to get votes for women, and at the risk of danger to our lives.

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> It is no fault of the authorities that there are no lives lost. Yesterday was a great day for our movement, and the responsibility does not rest upon us, but upon those who refused to give us what we demanded.
>
> If life is lost in this campaign then the Liberal Government will be directly responsible. There can be no going back for us. It is the beginning of the end, and more will happen if we do not get justice.

The magistrate suggested that there were other means of carrying on a campaign. "These disgraceful, disorderly struggles in the streets must be stopped," he added.

"They can be stopped, but only in one way," retorted Miss Pankhurst.

Among the other arrests were Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Rowe, a University graduate, Mrs. Sanders, the wife of Alderman Sanders, of the L.C.C., and a number of working women who have to support themselves upon small means. In the end, sentence were passed on 56 of the women—fine or imprisonment, and all accepted the latter.

On February 28th, the New Reform Club, consisting mostly of advanced Liberals and some Labour men and women, carried a resolution calling upon the Government to support a suffrage measure during the coming session.

On March 8th Mr. Dickinson introduced his Bill for giving women the suffrage, the terms of which will be found on page 56. The debate was conducted almost entirely by the Liberal side of the House, both for and against, but Mr. Snowden made a telling speech in favour of the measure. In the end the Bill was talked out, the Speaker refusing to put the closure, thus providing a complete justification for the scene which had taken place the year before in the ladies' gallery in the House of Commons.

Seventy-five Women Arrested.

On the day on which this measure was talked out, the Women's Social and Political Union held a great meeting in the Exeter Hall, which was filled to overflowing, many people being turned away from the door. They further called a conference for March 20th, and made a further effort to reach the House of Commons. As a result, 75 women were arrested, of whom the great majority were sent to Holloway for a term of 14 days.

On March 26th the National Union of Suffrage Societies held a demonstration in the Queen's Hall. About this time also a new organisation, "The Men's League for Women's Suffrage," was formed, which carried on propaganda all through the year.

The next event of interest was the Conference of the I.L.P. held at Easter at Derby, when the following resolution:—

> That this Conference declares in favour of adult suffrage and the political equality of the sexes, and considers that the right of suffrage should immediately be extended to women on the same conditions as to men.

was carried by 236 to 24. In reference to this, some of the women of the party, notably Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Despard, and Mrs. Snowden, gave a pledge that they would not go to any by-election except to support Labour candidates. This pledge was distinctly repudiated by Mrs. Pankhurst on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union, and subsequently led to division in the ranks of the women.

In May took place by-elections in Stepney and Wimbledon. In the former the Women's Social and Political Union adopted their usual policy of opposing the Liberal nominee, and as a result the adverse majority against the Liberal candidate was increased from 637 to 931. In Wimbledon the constitutional suffragists put forward Hon. Bertrand Russell in opposition to Mr. Chaplin, obtaining for him 3,299 votes. The election, however, was not fought entirely

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on Women's Suffrage lines, because Hon. Bertrand Russell was at the same time distinctly Liberal in many of his utterances, and did not obtain votes from Conservatives even though they supported Women's Suffrage. On the other hand, Liberals who were opposed to Women's Suffrage refused to vote for Mr. Russell. Under these circumstances, the figure which he obtained may be regarded as considerable.

In the same month the Women's Social and Political Union published their report for the preceding 12 months, showing that they had raised and expended £2,500. The following table also indicates the arrests that had taken place.

Date.	Reason for Arrest.	Number.	Aggregate Sentence Served.
			Weeks.
June 21	Trying to ring Mr. Asquith's doorbell	4	19
	Asking a question at a Public Meeting in Manchester	3	2
Oct. 23	Speaking inside and outside the House of Commons..	11	40
Dec	Speaking inside and outside the House of Commons..	20	41
Feb. 13	Carrying a Resolution to the House of Commons	56	about 86
	Speaking and Distributing Leaflets at a Strike in Yorkshire	2	3
March 20	Carrying a Resolution to the House of Commons	76	132
		172	323

On May 15th, Mr. Haldane's meeting was interrupted by a number of women, who were dissatisfied with Mr. Haldane's attitude on the question, and on May 30th a monster meeting was held in Exeter Hall to wind up the winter campaign, and a sum of £1,300 as a nucleus of a campaign fund of £20,000 was collected.

Another new feature of the movement was the opening by the W.S.P.U. of a stall at the Earl's Court Exhibition. This stall was kept open up till October 19th, and proved a very great success. It was visited by upwards of a thousand people every day, and each week 400 or 500 purchases of literature were made.

At the end of June a weekly paper, "Women's Franchise" was started, containing news from the various Suffrage Societies.

At the same date Miss Clementine Black was able to state that over 52,000 women had already given their names to a new declaration in favour of extending the franchise to women on the same terms as men.

A succession of by-elections followed in different parts of the country. The Jarrow election took place on July 5th. For three weeks previously the Women's Social and Political Union had been represented in the constituency by a large number of workers, and, contrary to the statements in the press that the meetings were sparsely attended, they were everywhere enthusiastically received. In the final result the Government nominee was defeated by Pete Curran, the Labour candidate, thus losing a seat for the Government. The next election was still more remarkable. The Colne Calley constituency had been for some time represented by Sir J. Kitson, the Liberal, but on his elevation to the peerage a three-cornered contest took place, and the Socialist candidate, Mr. Grayson, was returned, and after his election openly declared that he owed his victory to the assistance of the women's work. At North-west Staffs. the women held from 150 to 200 meetings, and were specially commended by the

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correspondent of the *Morning Post*, who said, "Woman against man, they are better speakers, more logical, bettter informed, better phrased, with a surer instinct for the telling argument," and again, "the suffragettes are the politicians of the election." Though the Liberal nominee was not defeated, his total poll was reduced by 271 votes. The Bury St. Edmund's election took place on August 24th, and in this case also the women were successful in reducing the Liberal's vote by 306, doubling the Conservative majority. After the election, Mr. Guiness, in addressing the crowd, said that they all knew what had been the cause of such a splendid victory. The people immediately began to shout, "Three cheers for the suffragettes! Three cheers for the women!" Mr. Guiness, however, went on to say that he referred to Tariff Reform, and the cheers of the crowd at once died away.

Worcester Women Ratepayers and the Election Rate.

Meanwhile, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies held a very successful conference in Cambridge. One of the subjects which occupied their attention was the position in Worcester, where the women, in common with other ratepayers, were being compelled to pay for the cost of the election petition brought about by the men voters, and the following resolution was carried:—

> That the National Union urge the ratepayers of Worcester, as a national duty, to make public protest against the injustice of levying a bribery rate upon women ratepayers, who, while denied the Parliamentary vote, should at least be exempted from penalties for corrupt practices at Parliamentary elections.

Several other questions were considered. Among others a resolution was carried calling upon the Government to introduce a measure in the Session of 1908.

In the Jarrow election, the North-eastern Society for Women's Suffrage followed different lines from the Women's Social and Political Union, and gave their direct support to the Labour candidate.

At the end of July, friends learnt with regret that Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe, one of the prominent workers of the W.S.P.U., was found to be suffering from an acute attack of appendicitis, and would have to undergo an operation. At the end of the year, however, she was sufficiently advanced towards recovery to begin to apply herself to her work, and expects in 1908 to be better than she has even been before.

During August Mr. Dickinson introduced a second bill relating to the qualification of women for the parliamentary franchise. This Bill did not meet with favour from the Women's Social and Political Union, nor from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, as it was contrary to the simple and natural method of enfranchisement which had been earlier put forward. Its terms are given on page 56.

In September a reconstruction of the basis of the Women's Social and Political Union took place, and the central organisation became from that day the National Women's Social and Political Union, and the branches in the country were denoted as local Unions. This alteration was not altogether acceptable to a small minority, who seceded from the ranks in consequence, many of them at the same time disapproving of the policy of complete political independence, and being desirous of assisting the Labour Party at elections. The seceding section ultimately formed a new society, called the Women's Freedom League, with offices at 18, Buckingham Street, W.C.

In September also the German women held a conference at Frankfurt at which the Women's Social and Political Union was represented by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Annie Kenney, who were received with hearty welcome by their German sisters.

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In October, *Votes for Women*, a paper devoted principally to the interests of the Women's Social and Political Union was started by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the monthly issue (price 3d.) being specially intended for the general public, and weekly supplements, (price ½d.), being produced for those in the inner circle of the movement. The paper was dedicated—

> "To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight."

During the first week of October a campaign in favour of the suffrage was conducted in Scotland. Big meetings were held in Aberdeen, Dunfermline, Dundee, and Glasgow. In Aberdeen Mr. Murray, the senior Liberal M.P. for the constituency, took the chair. In Dunfermline the chairman of the Local Liberal Party, Mr. Robertson, presided, and enthusiastic meetings were held. In Edinburgh the combined Suffrage Societies organised a monster procession through the streets on October 5th, and in the evening the Synod Hall was packed with 3,000 or 4,000 people, and very great enthusiasm prevailed.

The winter campaign of the National W.S.P.U. commenced on October 12th with an "At Home" at the Portman Rooms, with about 700 people, and an "At Home" in Birmingham on October 17th, at which most of the influential women in Birmingham were present.

Showing the growth of the movement, the National W.S.P.U. published an intermediate report for six months in October, acknowledging subscriptions to the amount of nearly £3,000 from upwards of 600 women in addition to a turnover of £400 on the literature department, which had made a net profit of £30. This money had been expended on holding 3,000 meetings during the period, in addition to demonstrations of other kinds.

On October 25th, a further move of militant tactics took place when Mr. Sydney Buxton's meeting in Poplar was interrupted by a score of women who determined that this lifelong opponent of women's suffrage should not be allowed to continue his opposition. On the same day a combined suffrage meeting was held in Manchester in the Free Trade Hall, which was filled with an interested crowd of people.

On October 28th, Mr. Lewis Harcourt's meeting in his constituency was broken up by Suffragettes; the women also seriously interfered with other meetings held by members of the Cabinet, notably Mr. McKenna's meeting at Brighton on November 11th, Mr. Birrell's meeting at Southampton on November 12th, and Mr. Asquith's meeting at Nuneaton on November 16th, setting themselves to bring pressure to bear on the Cabinet by refusing Ministers a hearing.

In a letter to the *Daily News*, Miss Singer pointed out that this was the only form of effective pressure which women could exert, as they were voteless.

At the end of October several big meetings in Yorkshire were held by Mrs. Pankhurst, and early in November Mrs. Martel conducted a campaign in Northumberland and Durham.

The National Women's Social and Political Union also held great meetings in Southampton on November 6th, Bristol November 8th, Leicester November 14th, and Birmingham November 20th. And they were also in force at the Hull by-election, which was in progress up to the end of November.

In London, a great concourse of women gathered together in the Queen's Hall on November 11th, when a further campaign fund of £570 was subscribed, and a parliament of women for February 11th, 12th, and 13th, 1908, was promised, at which the King's Speech would be discussed.

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WOMEN'S POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS.

(*A complete list of all women's societies will be found on p.* 218.)

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

Founder and Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Pankhurst. *Joint Hon. Sec.:* Mrs. Tuke. *Hon. Treasurer:* Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. *Organising Sec.:* Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. *Committee:* Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Mary Neal, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Mrs. N. A. Martel, Miss Elizabeth Robins. *Hon. Auditor:* A. G. Sayers, Chartered Accountant, 19, Hanover Square, W. *Bankers:* Messrs. Barclay & Co., 19, Fleet Street, E.C. *Office:* 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C. *Telegraphic Address:* "Wospolu," London. *Telephone:* 5550 Holborn.

OBJECTS.—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

President: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. *Treasurer:* Miss Bertha Mason. *Hon. Secretaries:* Miss Frances Hardcastle, M.A., Miss Frances Sterling. *Parliamentary and Organising Sec.:* Miss Edith Palliser. *Telegrams:* "Voiceless," London. *Telephone:* 1960 Victoria. *Offices:* 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.E.

OBJECT.—To obtain the Parliamentary suffrage for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

The Union is a federation of Women's Suffrage Societies in Great Britain.

WOMEN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SOCIETY.

President: Lady Strachey. *Chairman of Committee:* Lady Strachey. *Hon. Sec.:* Miss Leigh Browne. *Hon. Treas.:* Lady Lockyer. *Assist. Sec.:* Miss Berry. *Office:* 17, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Anna Haslam. *Office:* 125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S LABOUR LEAGUE.

President: Mrs. J. R. Macdonald. *Hon. Sec.:* Mrs. F. Macpherson, B.A., 34, St. Thomas's Mansions, Westminster Bridge, London.

OBJECTS.—To form an organisation of women to work for independent Labour Representation in connection with the Labour Party, and to obtain direct Labour Representation of women in Parliament and on all local bodies.

ADULT SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

President: Miss M. G. Bondfield, 122, Gower Street, W.C. *Vice-President:* Mrs. H. Jennie Baker, 24, Victoria Avenue, Stockton-on-Tees. *General Secretary:* Mrs. M. G. Godden, 48, Norfolk House Road, Streatham, London, S.W. *General Treasurer:* Mr. Frank Rose, 399, Stretford Road, Manchester.

OBJECTS.—(1) To focus opinion on the question of Adult Suffrage. (2) To secure the rights of citizenship to every adult man and woman.

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"To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world of whatever race or creed or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper."

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CO-OPERATION.

In Co-operative enterprise in Great Britain for 1907, first place may be given to the Co-operative Wholesale Societies of England and Scotland. These two Societies, it should be remembered, are prohibited from selling to other than Co-operative Societies, although on the other hand, the retail societies are not tied as to their purchases. Loyalty on the part of the distributive societies counts for much, of course, but in the end the Wholesale Societies depend for success on their ability as manufacturers or merchants. Their record of sales to the amount of some thirty millions sterling, of which nearly one-quarter was for goods of their own manufacture, is one of the most notable points in recent Co-operative history.

WHOLESALE CO-OPERATION.

Co-operative Wholesale Society, Balloon Street, Manchester.

Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, 95, Morrison Street, Glasgow.

There are 1,411 distributive societies holding the shares of these two great societies, and through their delegates electing the Directors.

The latest available accounts of Wholesale enterprise are for the year ended 31st December, 1906, which we compare with those for 1905:—

Trade of English and Scottish Wholesale Societies.

Year.	Society Memb'rs.	Share Capital.	Assets.	Sales.	Profits.	No. of Employees.	Salaries and Wages.
		£	£	£	£		£
1905	1,419	1,660,072	—	27,725,207	635,873	20,408	1,141,960
1906	1,411	1,696,022	*8,547,491	29,650,217	776,991	21,756	1,217,212

* £2,862,000 Stock-in-trade; £2,436,000 Land, Buildings, and Machinery; £2,447,000 Houses and other Investments; £800,000 Book debts.

In addition to salaries and wages the Scottish Society pays bonuses, which, last year, amounted to £12,849. The Scottish Society has issued a summary of its accounts for every year since its inauguration in 1868. The following shows the growth of this Society's sales:—

Growth of Scottish Society's Trade.

1868.	1876.	1886	1896.	1906.	Gross Total 1868—1906.
£81,094	£457,529	£1,857,000	£3,822,500	£7,140,182	£99,437,385

The Wholesale Societies do not, of course, compete in the open market; their trade is solely with registered Co-operative Societies, although these include such concerns as the Army and Navy, and Civil Service "Stores," which are managed rather for the benefit of the shareholders than of the consumers. The trade of the Societies is classed as "distributive"—*i.e.*, middleman's trade—and "productive."

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The English Society has corn mills in Oldham, Rochdale, Manchester, Silvertown, and Dunston. Among their other principal undertakings are cabinet works, engineering works, and drysalteries at Newcastle; brush-making and ready-made clothing factories at Leeds; cabinet works, clothing factory, preserve and pickle works, tobacco factory and printing works at Manchester; hosiery works at Leicester; soap works at Irlam; cocoa works at Luton; worsted mills at Batley; corset factory at Desborough; weaving shed at Bury; brush factory at Huddersfield; and fruit farms in Herefordshire.

The Scottish Society has preserve, pickle, and confectionery works, brush-making, cabinet, and tobacco factories, boot and shoe factories, and great cloth mills in Glasgow; a shirt factory in Edinburgh; soap works at Grangemouth; Ettrich tweed and blanket mills at Selkirk; an ærated water factory at Dunfermline; fish-curing works at Aberdeen; flour mills, creameries, and other flourishing undertakings, including printing, bookbinding, and lithography, building and mechanical and electrical engineering, saddlery, tinware, and cooperage works.

The sales of their own products amounted in 1906 to £6,470,000, about 22 per cent. of their total sales, and may be classed as follows:—

English and Scottish Wholesale Products.

Cotton, Linen, Silk, and Wool.	Boots, Shoes, and Leather.	Wood Work.	Printing and Bookbinding.	Corn Milling.	* Various.
£503,042	£760,372	£113,668	£164,978	£2,570,516	£2,354,981

* Including confectionery, preserves, drysaltery, tobacco, and soap.

Below are the recorded sales of all co-operative productions in Great Britain for 1905 and 1906, by which the great increase of the two Wholesale Societies' output will be seen:—

All Co-operative Products in Great Britain.

	1905.	1906.	Increase or Decrease.
Independent Societies' Productions...	£3,173,059	£2,765,011	−£408,048
Wholesale ,, ,, ...	£5,488,822	£6,467,557	+£978,735
Total Sales for Year	£8,661,881	£9,232,568	+£570,687

In addition to their own productions the Wholesale Societies buy largely from the independent productive societies. As the retail societies deal mainly in groceries, tea, coffee, cocoa, &c., a considerable portion of the Wholesale Societies' trade is necessarily in proprietary articles and other goods which cannot be described as "Co-operative productions." The Societies have a fleet of eight vessels employed in the importation of tea, coffee, sugar, cotton, grain, timber, &c. During 1905 a coasting service was also instituted between the various seaport centres.

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DISTRIBUTIVE CO-OPERATION.

Making a similar comparison to that which appeared in last year's *Reformers' Year Book* we get the following Table :—

Year.	Number of Societies.	Number of Members.	Sales.	Net Profits.	Share Capital.	Number of Employees.	Assets.
			£	£	£		£
1904	1,469	2,078,178	59,311,934	9,411,348	25,139,504	69,956	32,910,246
1905	1,457	2,153.185	61,086,991	9,559,238	26,077,174	72,712	35,249,964
1906	1,448	2,222,417	63,353,772	9,972,250	27,350,588	76,190	37,313,617

It is interesting to note here the same tendency towards concentration that is shown in other retail undertakings—the number of separate societies declines whilst the capital and sales increase.

In addition to the Table given above, the following figures affecting the distributive societies will be of interest :—

Employees.		Salaries and Wages.	Bonus on Wages.	Subscriptions.		
On Distributive Work.	*On Productive Work.			Educational.	Charitable.	†Co-operative Union.
56,306	19,884	£4,173,198	£45,809	£83,952	£38,709	£8,974

* This refers solely to local productive works carried on by the Retail Societies, including bakeries, laundries, dressmaking, shirtmaking, shoemaking, tailoring, dairy farms.

† The greater part of this is spent upon educational work.

The educational work carried on by the Societies include (1) the provision of reading rooms, and arrangement of lecture courses, debates and concerts ; (2) classes for young students. Many of the larger societies have admirable lending and reference libraries, and their own lecture and concert rooms—sometimes the best halls in their town for these purposes. There are seldom fewer than 5,000 students go in for the examinations on co-operation, citizenship, industrial history, and commercial methods.

Some 18,000 employees are in the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees, which is affiliated both to the Trades Congress and the Labour Party. The Secretary is A. Hewitt, and the offices are in the *Co-operative News* Buildings, Long Millgate, Manchester.

THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

Secretary : J. C. Gray, J.P. *Offices :* Nicholas Croft, High Street, Manchester.

Out of 1,596 registered Co-operative societies of all kinds there are 1,235, or 77 per cent., affiliated to the Co-operative Union, their membership totalling to 2,191,000 or 94 per cent. of the entire membership of Co-operative societies. The following Committees were appointed in 1907 : (*a*) Education ; (*b*) Joint

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Propaganda (with the English Wholesale Society); (*c*) Joint Parliamentary (with both Wholesale Societies); (*d*) Joint Exhibitions (with the Wholesale and Productive Societies); (*e*) Joint with Trade Union Congress; (*f*) Defence Committee (against newspaper libels, unfair attacks by traders, &c.)

The Education Committee is large and representative. Among other work the Union formed 316 classes in co-operation, citizenship, economics, industrial history and commercial methods, attended by 11,232 students, junior and adult. It issued 2,109 certificates of merit, 2,848 for attendance, as well as a number of prizes, grants in aid, and some small scholarships.

The Union also carries on an untiring propaganda in the districts where Co-operation is weak or undeveloped.

The thirty-ninth annual Co-operative Congress was held under the auspices of the Union at Preston, on May 20th, 21st, and 22nd, 1907. There were 1,492 delegates, representing 532 Societies or district Associations. Councillor W. Lander (Bolton) presided. Deputations attended from the Co-operative Unions of Austria, Germany, Denmark, France, and Switzerland. Miss Halford, secretary of the International Co-operative Alliance, acted as interpreter.

Resolutions were adopted in favour of Wages' Boards and a minimum wage standard, also of a minimum wage scale for Co-operative employees, and the compilation of a list of fair houses to guide Co-operative buyers. The Conference refused to discuss the medical inspection of children on the grounds that it was "a purely political question." The United Board wished to dissolve the Sub-committee upon Credit, but the Conference decided to re-appoint it. It was stated that 72 per cent. of societies now gave credit, that the distributive societies had nearly a million pounds of debts owing them.

The Parliamentary Committee gave the important opinion that Co-operators on public bodies must not vote upon proposed contracts with their societies, however disinterested their object. The Congress papers were by Mr. Aneurin Williams, on "Co-operation in Housing and Town Building," and by Mr. R. J. Wilson, on "The Position of Employees in the Co-operative Movement."

CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION.

CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION.—*Secretary:* R. Halstead, 17, Narborough Road, Leicester.

In addition to the two great Wholesale Societies, whose productive work has already been dealt with, there are in Great Britain 129 independent productive Co-operative societies. These latter, almost without exception, divide their profits between interest on capital, dividends to consumers, and bonuses to workers.

The results of independent Co-operative production for 1905 and 1906 were as follows:—

Year.	Societies.	Capital.	Sales.	Profits.	Employees.	Salaries and Wages.	Bonus to Labour.
1905	139	£1,519,687	£3,176,059	£201,601	8,297	£461,532	£12,919
1906	129	£1,436,054	£2,765,011	£165,382	8,264	£454,669	£14,120

In May, 1907, the Co-operative Productive Federation held a successful Exhibition in connection with the annual Co-operative Congress at Preston, and in August, 1907, took part in the annual Co-operative Exhibition held at the Crystal Palace.

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LABOUR CO-PARTNERSHIP.

LABOUR CO-PARTNERSHIP ASSOCIATION.—*Secretary:* H. Vivian, M.P., 6, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

Among co-partnership firms are Hazell, Watson, & Viney, printers, and Armstrong, Whitworth, & Co., Ltd. The amount held by employees in the latter firm now amounts to over £200,000. There are five gas companies with profit-sharing schemes. The South Metropolitan (capital, £8,000,000) has about 5,000 employees in the scheme, with shares and deposits of the market value of over £300,000, and three of their number on the Board of Directors. The other four companies (total capital, £3,740,000) have 2,137 employees in their schemes with holdings of the market value of £60,000. The total amount divided amongst, or credited to, the employees of the five companies for the year 1906 was nearly £55,000.

Out of the work of the Co-partnership Tenants' Housing Council have already sprung estates at Letchworth, Ealing, Sevenoaks, Bourneville, Hampstead, Manchester, Leicester, Oldham, and Wolverhampton.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION.

THE AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION SOCIETY.—*Secretary:* J. Nugent Harris, Dacre House, Dacre Street, Westminster, S.W.

The Agricultural Organisation Society, which works in harmony with the Co-operative Union, exists to promote the formation of properly registered Co-operative Agricultural Societies in England and Wales. It does no trade and makes no profits. The local societies formed become quite independent, but affiliation to the central Society entitles them to profit by its knowledge experience in production, trading, and book-keeping, negotiations with railways and public bodies. The principal objects of these societies are: (1) to aid in purchasing requirements to best advantage; (2) to aid in securing the best markets for produce; (3) to open up distant districts by motor wagons; (4) to hire or buy pedigree breeding stock; (5) to insure live stock; (6) to establish credit banks.

In August, 1907, there were 151 affiliated societies, with an estimated membership of between 9,000 and 10,000, and a turnover of more than £350,000. In addition to the Agricultural Co-operative Federation, the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society, and the Central Co-operative Agricultural Bank, there were the following 148 societies:—

Supply of Requirements and Sale of Produce.	Dairy Societies.	Rural Industries.	Allotments and Small Holdings.	Credit Societies.	Auction Markets.	Fruit Grading.	Motor Services.	TOTAL.
107	14	3	5	13	2	2	2	148

The Central Co-operative Agricultural Bank, Ltd., formed for the purpose of financing Village Credit Societies, commenced business during 1907.

The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society issued its first annual report (to December 31st, 1906) during 1907. This shows that there were societies existing in eight centres.

For Agricultural Co-operation in Ireland, see page 114.

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INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.

THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE.—*Secretary:* Miss J. Halford, 6, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

The Alliance now embraces 25 countries, and nearly 650 societies, of which the United Kingdom accounts for over 370, Germany coming second in affiliated strength with 88, then France, Holland, and Hungary,

International Congress.

The seventh Congress of the Alliance was held at Cremona, September 23rd to 25th, 1907. A number of papers were read, including two on National Agricultural Organisation, by M. P. Blem, Danish M.P. and Chairman Central Danish Committee; G. Raineri, Italian M.P. and Chairman Italian Agricultural Union. Others were by W. Maxwell, Chairman of Scottish Wholesale; L. Bertrand, Belgium M.P. and founder of Brussels Maison du Peuple; and Madame Treub-Cornaz, President of the Dutch Women's Co-operative Guild.

There were present some 900 delegates representing 20 European countries, including all the Great Powers, some of whom were also represented by Government officials.

Co-operation on the Continent.

In Austria, agricultural Co-operation is highly developed. There is no country in the world where more is done by the State for agricultural production. But every hindrance is put in the way of distributive Co-operation, especially in the towns, and the private traders are allowed to carry their animosity to incredible lengths. In this they have the full support of the so-called "Christian Socialist" party, who are also Imperialists and Anti-Semites. Despite these trials the Co-operative Union, founded on the Rochdale plan in 1901, now has 380 affiliated societies, and in 1906 created a wholesale society which did a trade of £120,000 in the first six months.

In Denmark, the greater part of the agricultural population is Co-operative as to production, and a large proportion as to distribution. There are 1,200 distributive societies formed on the Rochdale plan, with about 180,000 members, and sales of £2,500,000. There are over 1,000 dairy societies, with 158,000 members, their produce valued at over £9,000,000. Then there are Co-operative egg societies, and others of a similar kind. Altogether, over 500,000 working farmers belong to Co-operative societies, with a total turnover of £17,000,000. Among other good works they support two Co-operative sanatoriums for poor workers by means of a trifling contribution levied on each member.

The notable feature of German Co-operation has been the growth of its wholesale society, which was founded in 1894. By 1900 it consisted of 76 members, had a capital of £7,000 and a trade of £300,000. Now it has 390 members, a capital of over £50,000, and does business with 1,400 Co-operative concerns to the amount of nearly two and a half million pounds. The society has already a large soap factory, and is preparing to undertake other manufactures.

The Central Union of Distributive Societies—all carried on strictly on Rochdale principles—consists of 855 societies with 750,000 members, £12,000,000 of sales and nearly a million in profits. There are over 10,000 employees. There is a Superannuation Insurance Society with 80 society members and 1,400 individual members. The Union is building its own printing works, and is shortly to enter upon banking jointly with the Wholesale Society.

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REFORM IN MANY LANDS.

SECOND PEACE CONGRESS AT THE HAGUE.

THE first Peace Conference of Powers met at the Hague in 1899. It established an International Court of Arbitration, under which 33 Arbitration Conventions have been arranged between different nations, and recommended International commissions of enquiry, such as that which enquired into the Dogger Bank incident. It also passed a resolution approving of limitation of armaments.

Since the first Conference the South African and Russo-Japanese wars have occurred, and the expenditure on armaments by Europe, Japan, and the United States has increased from £251,000,000 annually to £320,000,000.

The second Peace Conference opened at the Hague on June 15th, 1907 and continued to sit until October 19th. For the first five weeks it discussed little else than details of warfare. The principal efforts on behalf of Peace were made by the representatives of Holland and the United States, supported later by Germany. The British delegates opposed (July 17th) the most important practical proposal for reduction of armaments, but later, owing to the urgent pressure brought to bear upon the Premier by the peace societies and press, Great Britain showed more interest in the question of Peace. This manifestly encouraged the United States and Germany in their efforts, so that if any good should result from the Conference it will largely be due to the efforts of the British Peace party towards counteracting the indifference of the Foreign Office.

There were 44 Powers represented at the Conference. The British representatives were: Sir Edward Fry, Sir Ernest Satow, and Lord Reay, together with Sir Henry Howard, our Minister at the Hague, Lieut.-Gen. Sir E. R. Elles. and Captain C. L. Ottley, R.N. as Military and Naval delegates.

The first act of the Conference was to send a telegram to the Tsar of Russia, containing the following passage:—

> The Second Peace Conference lays at the feet of Your Majesty its respectful homage, and expresses to Your Majesty its profound gratitude for having taken the initiative in continuing the work began in 1899.

The Conference then unanimously offered its Presidency to M. de Nelidoff the Russian Ambassador, whose most notable remark in his presidential address was the warning to the delegates not to be "too ambitious."

The Commissions.

The Conference divided itself into four Commissions, viz.:—

> (1) On Arbitration, with M. Bourgeeis as President; (2) on Land Warfare, President, M. Beernaert; (3) on Sea Warfare, President, Count Tornielli; (4) on Rights of Neutrals, and Questions under the Geneva Convention, President, M. de Martens.

No Commission was appointed upon armaments, it being agreed that the question should not be discussed in any way.

The Commissions met in private, but the progress of their deliberations was communicated to the press by individual delegates. The British delegates protested against this, but evoked no sympathy.

On July 17th, the United States made the most important practical proposa of the Conference, viz., to secure the absolute inviolability of private property at sea. The result of such a guarantee would be to remove one of the strongest

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arguments for commercial countries maintaining large navies. The American proposal was supported by Germany, Austria, Italy, and 17 other countries, but it was opposed by Great Britain, Russia, France, Spain, Japan, and seven other countries. Thus the voting was 21 in favour to 11 against, but as 21 was too short of a clear majority of countries, the resolution was lost. a result due to the opposition of the British delegates, who could have carried France with them to the other side.

On July 27th, the Conference by 27 votes adopted the proposal of the United States that Powers should not resort to coercive measures implying the use of arms for the recovery of contractual debts until the debtor country had refused to accept arbitration, or had ignored the proposal, or had failed to comply with a verdict of the Arbitration Court.

On July 30th, M. de Nelidoff laid the first stone of the new Carnegie Temple of Peace, in which the permanent Arbitration Court is to sit when it comes into existence.

On July 31st, the Conference by 25 to 5 adopted the British proposal to abolish contraband of war, but as the dissentients included France, Russia, Germany, and America, the proposal will probably be shelved.

Peace Resolution.

On August 17th, it adopted the following resolution proposed by Sir Edward Fry :—

> The Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the Conference of 1899 with regard to the limitation of military charges; and seeing that military charges have considerably increased in nearly every country since that year, the Conference declares it highly desirable that the Governments should resume the serious study of this question.

The resolution of 1899 was as follows :—

> The Conference considers that the limitation of the military charges which now weigh on the world is highly desirable for the increase of the material and moral well-being of humanity.

Sir Edward Fry also made the following declaration :—

> The Government of Great Britain would be prepared annually to communicate to the Powers, who would do the same, the programme of construction for new vessels of war, and the expenditure entailed by that programme. This exchange of information would facilitate an exchange of views between the Governments as to the reductions which might be effected by mutual agreement.

On September 10th, the Conference, on the initiative of Germany and Great Britain, adopted the proposal for an International Prize Court of Appeal to revise disputed national decisions.

Later in September it was agreed that dum-dum bullets and asphyxiating shells should not be used as between the Powers represented at the Conference. This means that they can yet be used in "native" wars.

During October the terms of the Conventions were being defined.

On October 20th, the Conference concluded, having lasted for 18 weeks.

Summary of Results.

(*a*) **Rights of neutrals** secured as to freedom from capture or inspection of vessels by belligerents.

(*b*) **Submarine mines** to be moored and not to be used against mercantile vessels.

(*c*) **Naval bombardments** against undefended ports or towns forbidden.

(*d*) **Debts of nations** not to be collected by force until arbitration offered.

(*e*) **Postal correspondence** to be duly forwarded from captured vessels.

(*f*) **Privateers** to have no rights under Conventions.

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(*g*) **Merchant ships** in hostile ports on outbreak of hostilities, to have "claim to consideration."

(*h*) The principle of an **International Prize Court** and **International Commission of Enquiry** invested with permanency, but dependent for practical effect upon agreement between powers as to the judges :—

(*i*) **Explosive bullets** and asphyxiating shells not to be used as between parties to the conventions, but not forbidden against native races.

(*j*) **Disarmament** to be "studied" by the Powers.

(*k*) **Contraband of War** to be abolished.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS, 1907.

THE International Socialist Congress, 1907, was held at Stuttgart, August 18th to 24th. The two most notable incidents of the Congress were the discussion upon anti-Militarism, and the expulsion of H. Quelch, as S.D.F. delegate, by the Wurtemburg Government.

This latter incident arose on Wednesday, 21st, from Quelch's sardonic reference to the Hague Peace Conference as a "Thieves' Supper," meaning that the Hague delegates were there on behalf of the financiers and exploiting classes to discuss details of capitalist warfare. This slang phrase was translated literally by the Continental Press, and gave the greatest offence at the Hague. The Wurtemburg Government intimated that it would close the Congress if the saying were not withdrawn. Singer disclaimed, on behalf of the Congress, any intention of personal reflection on the Hague delegates. Quelch made a similar disclaimer, but declined to withdraw what was "not meant to be offensive." Accordingly he was given 10 hours' notice to leave Stuttgart, which he did early on the morning of Friday, 23rd.

Militarism.

The discussion upon the question of Militarism turned almost entirely upon the attitude of the Socialist parties towards Hervé's anti-militarist and anti-national agitation, in which he advocates that soldiers should desert or rebel in time of war. This campaign causes particular uneasiness among the German Socialists, as they fear that if Hervé succeeds in demoralising the French Army the German Government may be tempted to attack France. As a consequence of Bebel voicing this attitude he was violently attacked by Hervé, who styled him "Kaiser" Bebel, and charged him with wanting "to drown the world under ballot papers."

Hervé's position was that national boundaries should count for nothing, that defence of country is merely defence of the right to be exploited by a particular set of capitalists, that patriotism is an invention of the governing classes. From this position he further argued that orders to shoot their fellow-workmen of other nations should be followed by a military strike, and that the rifle of the proletarian soldier should only be turned against his own officer.

Despite the natural sympathy with Hervé's logical reasoning, it was felt that countenance of his attitude would be reactionary in its effects. Moreover, Hervé's violence of language and extravagant invective alienated even his few supporters, and he was unanimously repudiated both by the Military Commission and by the Congress.

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One of the principal points of the resolution was that a compulsory citizen army was to take the place of the present form of conscription. On the strong representations of the I.L.P. delegates, Great Britain and America were expressly excluded from this proposal.

The other principal subjects discussed were: (*a*) Women's Suffrage, (*b*) Relations of Trade Unionism and Socialism, (*c*) Colonial Policy, and (*d*) Alien Immigration.

The Congress.

There were in all 886 delegates, representing 23 nations.

The British delegation of 115 delegates was made up as follows: Labour Party, 2 delegates, representing 980,000 members; Independent Labour Party, 30 delegates, representing 25,000; Social Democratic Federation, 61 delegates, representing 6,000; and Fabian Society, 15 delegates, representing 1,200.

On Sunday, August 18th, orations were delivered by Bebel and Vandervelde, and the agenda of the Congress, the Standing Orders, &c., were gone through seriatim and agreed to. As usual, a great open-air demonstration followed, H. M. Hyndman and J. R. MacDonald, M.P., speaking for Great Britain.

On Monday the delegates met separately in nationalities, and each elected four delegates to serve on the five Commissions for discussing Militarism and the other four subjects already mentioned. Thus each Commission consisted of 92 members, absorbing more than half the delegates, the remainder carrying on the general and more formal work of the Congress.

H. M. Hyndman was unanimously elected chairman of the British delegation, with Wm. Sanders as secretary.

Trade Unionism and Socialism.

The Congress reassembled on Tuesday, when MacDonald (I.L.P.) objected to the wording of a paragraph of the Bureau's Report, asking for the rejection of the I.L.P. request that Trade Unions should be admitted. The I.L.P. objection raised the whole question of the relations of British Trade Unions towards the Congress. After a lengthy discussion, in which the S.D.F. supported the report, an I.L.P. amendment, that it be referred back for consultation, was carried by a large majority.

Colonial Policy.

On Wednesday the Colonial Commission reported, producing a majority and a minority resolution.

The majority resolution accepted Colonies as an existing fact, and declared that Socialists should endeavour to establish an international standard of justice in dealing with subject peoples.

The minority resolution declared against "capitalist colonisation" as leading to conquest and exploitation, international misunderstandings, and enslavement of native races.

The colonisation indicated by the resolutions was, of course, Crown colonisation over alien races, and not self-governing colonies.

The majority resolution was supported by Germany, Holland, France, and all the British sections except the S.D.F. It was in the course of this debate that Quelch made his "thieves' supper" speech.

The Continental delegates spoke at extraordinary length, and the debate was carried over into Thursday, thus occupying a day and a half out of four working days. Ultimately, after the minority amendment had been carried by 127 to 108, the main points of the majority resolution were incorporated with it, and the whole resolution carried unanimously.

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Women's Suffrage.

The next resolution was that drafted by the Women's Suffrage Commission. Like the other resolutions it was declamatory and verbose, but the point of it was a declaration in favour of Adult Suffrage and against any extensions of the vote to women upon present electoral qualifications.

The wording of the resolution had not been reached by the Commission without a debate which for liveliness and vigour equalled that on Militarism. The Commission was presided over by Clara Zetkin, a strong Adult Suffragist, and, in fact, the leader of that section in the Conference, but apart from that fact the majority of the delegates, both in the Commission and afterwards in the Congress, were disinclined to listen to any arguments against the orthodox Marxist position.

There was a considerable misunderstanding as to the terms of the franchise in England, owing to the persistent assertion of the Adult Suffragists that it is a "property" qualification and that the Women Suffragists wished to "limit" the franchise. Herbert Burrows and Mrs. Montefiore spoke against the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, and Miss McMillan, Mrs. J. R. MacDonald, and Miss Murby in favour of it.

The Adult Suffrage resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority. The Labour Party, the I.L.P., and the Fabian Society voted against it, but by an improper allocation of votes—which the International Bureau has since decided to rectify—these delegates, representing over a million British constituents, were outvoted in the British section by the S.D.F. delegates, who represented 6,000 members only.

Trade Union and Socialist Unity.

The resolution then submitted as to Socialist and Trade Union harmony, declared for joint political action on English lines. The American Industrial Workers' Union moved a direct amendment against this. On this debate, as in some others where the British point of view was especially important, the appointed British spokesman had no opportunity to speak.

As the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority, this did not seem to matter, but when on the next resolution the British spokesman was again closured, the whole section rose and made a passionate protest, which lasted some minutes.

This resolution was upon the question of Alien Immigration, was long, involved, and a transparent evasion of the question. The debate, however, raised the question of blacklegging by British labour at Antwerp, the only point that gave reality to the debate, and one on which the British delegation naturally wished to make a statement.

This scene was, of course, made the most of by the English and continental capitalist press.

Close of Congress.

On Saturday, 24th, the final day of the Congress, when many of the delegates had gone, the question of Militarism was reached, and the resolution prepared by the Commission was put and carried without discussion, although Hervé was allowed to make a protest against the closure.

For the Congress of 1908 Copenhagen was selected as meeting place.

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BRITISH DOMINIONS IN 1907.

An election took place in Australia for the Federal Parliament in December, 1906. For the House of Representatives 26 Labour men (a gain of one), 31 Reidites, and 18 Deakinites were elected. For the Senate 16 Labour men (a gain of two), 17 Reidites, and three Deakinites were elected. In October, 1907, Mr. Watson resigned the leadership of the Labour Party on account of his health, and Mr. Andrew Fisher became leader in his stead.

EGYPT.

British administration in Egypt in 1907 was disgraced by the failure of the Government to attempt any restitution in the Denshawai case, the facts of which were known to be as follows :—

Certain British officers went to Denshawai and began illegally shooting some of the pigeons belonging to the villagers, and set a threshing floor on fire and bodily wounded the wife of the owner ; whereupon they were set on with sticks by the villagers and one of the officers ran for help. He had been hit over the head, and in the intense heat was overcome by sunstroke, from which he died. Though no British Court would account this murder, a special tribunal without jury sitting on the case hanged four of the villagers for murder, eight were publicly flogged, two were sent to penal servitude for life—including the husband of the woman who was shot—one was imprisoned for 15 years, six for seven years, and three for one year. This was in June, 1906.

The matter was at once brought to the notice of the House of Commons, but Sir Edward Grey refused to allow the question to be discussed on the ground of the dangerous political feeling in Egypt. Such a statement if true was a curious comment on the alleged success of British administration ; if false an outrageous attempt to curtail free enquiry on a serious miscarriage of justice.

The facts are now public property. It is too late to reverse the grosser sentences of hanging and flogging ; but the men are still (November, 1907) in prison and could be released ; and the Liberal Government by refusing to do so has identified itself with the judgment of the Court which is at variance with every principle of British justice.

INDIA.

(*An article from the pen of the Hon. G. K. Gokhale, member of the Viceregal Council, appears on page* 112.)

During 1907 the British administration of India abandoned all attempts to keep up the semblance of Liberal principles. The following methods were adopted to put down political agitation :—

(1) The deportation without trial or charge of persons regarded by the Government as politically dangerous. This has been carried out in a great many cases ; in particular in that of Lala Lajput Rai, a man of admittedly high and exemplary character.

(2) The prosecution of and severe sentences on native editors for sedition. (The Bengal Government financed the police in a personal libel action which they brought against the *Indian Daily News*.)

(3) Flogging of persons (including schoolboys) for taking part in political demonstrations.

(4) The prohibition of public meetings and imprisonment of those present in spite of such prohibition.

Meanwhile, in the six months ended June, the deaths from plague in the Punjab alone were no less than 633,000, and in the whole of India 1,060,000. And a famine is threatened for 1908, involving half the population of India.

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Mr. Morley's "reforms" announced on June 6th included (1) the appointment of an "Advisory Council of Notables," (2) enlargement of Legislative Councils, (3) the appointment of two Indians on to the India Council in London. On August 26th, a Royal Commission was also appointed to look into methods of decentralisation.

Indian reformers consider reforms 1 and 2 to be quite valueless, and 3 to be rendered nugatory by the appointment of Mr. Krishna Govind Gupta and Mr. Syed Hussein Bilgrami, two gentlemen who, however excellent in themselves, are in no way representative of modern Indian feeling.

Not until late in November 1907 were Lalo Lajput Rai and the other political prisoners set at liberty.

NEW ZEALAND.

During 1907 New Zealand assumed the name of "Dominion." An important decision affecting labour was given in the Court of Appeal, which decided that New Zealand workers who take part in a strike after the award of the Arbitration Court may be fined, and in case of non-payment imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year.

SOUTH AFRICA (BRITISH).

The Federation of South Africa was discussed in 1907 by all the Colonies at the invitation of Lord Selborne. The Cape Parliament unanimously passed a resolution in its favour. General Botha, Prime Minister of the Transvaal, declared himself in agreement, and the other colonies were ready favourably to consider the matter. Apart from the racial issue, the question is largely economic, each of the coast colonies being anxious to obtain a share of the large railway traffic to and from the Transvaal, much of which at present goes via Delagoa Bay. Each colony is anxious to make sure that it would gain and not lose in this way through federation.

In the Cape a general election takes place at the beginning of 1908. The parties are the Progressives, led by Dr. Jameson, and the Bond, led by Messrs. Merriman and Sauer. Mr. W. P. Schreiner, ex-premier, has intervened, and expects to lead a kind of middle party.

In Natal a Colonial Commission sitting on Native Affairs found that native discontent is due not to disloyalty but to prolonged and exasperating misgovernment. It proceeds to justify this accusation by citing a series of flagrant injustices under which the native suffers. This finding is in entire accordance with the view expressed in the *Reformers' Year Book* of 1907, in which the horrible butchery of the "war" of suppression of the "native rebellion" was held up to condemnation.

The first elections in the Transvaal took place on February 20th, 1907, and resulted as follows: Het Volk, 37; Nationalists, 6; Labour Party, 3; Progressives, 21; Independents, 2. Thus Het Volk was placed in an absolute majority of 5, while the first three parties, who were united on many questions, and particularly in opposition to Chinese Labour, had a combined majority of 23.

The fate of the Chinese experiment was thus sealed, and the new Government speedily took steps to arrange that they should depart at the end of their contracts. Thus 17,000 leave before the end of 1907. 28,000 during 1908, and the remainder in 1909.

After altogether undue delay a Constitution was at last granted to the Orange River Colony, similar in most respects to that in the Transvaal. The elections took place in November, 1907. A large majority for the "Orangia Unie" (Dutch party) was secured. The result being:—Orangia Unie 30, Constitutionalists 4, Independents 4.

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FOREIGN NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN 1907.

AUSTRIA.

A General Election took place in Austria in May, 1907, being the first at which manhood suffrage prevailed. The Socialists gained 72 seats, bringing their numbers up to 82 in a total house of 353 members. Their leader is Dr. Victor Adler.

FINLAND.

The first General Election for the Finnish Diet on a basis of true adult suffrage and proportional representation commenced on March 15th. Sixty-four per cent. of the electorate polled, and scarcely 1 per cent. of the ballot papers were spoilt. Of a total of 200 members returned 80 were Socialists, 59 Old-Fennomans, 24 Young-Fennomans, 24 Swedish, 11 Agrarians, and 2 "Christian Labourers." Nineteen women were returned out of a total of 63 candidates; nine of these are among the 80 Socialists, and the others distributed among the other parties.

GERMANY.

The election took place in January. The Socialists, though polling a quarter of a million more votes than before were reduced in membership of the Reichstag from 79 to 43. The numbers of the other parties were as follows: 105 Centre, 59 Conservatives, 55 National Liberals, 39 Radicals, 21 Imperialists, 20 Poles, and 55 belonging to miscellaneous parties. The following table shows the Socialist voting in 1903 and 1907:—

	Total Vote.		Socialist Vote.		Percentage.
1903.....	9,495,587	....	3,010,771	....	31·7
1907.....	11,067,435	....	3,255,970	....	29·4

HOLLAND.

In the elections for the Provincial States (the bodies which elect the Dutch Upper House), the Socialist representation was increased in June from 6 to 19.

RUSSIA.

There were two elections for the Duma during 1907, the first in January, when 230 Socialist and Labour members were returned out of a total of 525. The second election took place in October, and elaborate restrictions were invented by the Government to ensure a subservient body. The result was approximately as follows: 70 "Monarchists" (extreme reactionaries), 120 members of the so-called "Right" (reactionaries), 128 "Octobrists" (moderates), 70 "Cadets" (constitutional democrats), 14 Social Democrats and 15 Polish Nationalists.

SPAIN.

The General Election took place in April, 1907, the Socialists made no advance in their position. The final disposition of parties being as follows: 256 Conservatives, 61 Liberals, 15 Independent Liberals, 17 Catalan Home Rulers, 29 Republicans, and 16 Carlists.

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REFORM SOCIETIES.

Among societies not dealt with in this book in former years are those concerned with the development of the practical arts and handicrafts.

Arts and Crafts Societies.

The Art Workers' Guild was founded in 1884. The Master for 1907 is William Strang, and the hon. secretaries are J. D. Batten, 16, Edwardes Square, Kensington, W., and F. W. Troup, 14, Gray's Inn Square, W.C. Meetings are held fortnightly in Clifford's Inn Hall, Fleet Street, for the discussion of questions relating to design and handicraft. Members may introduce visitors.

The Clarion Guild of Handicraft—hon. sec., Julia Dawson, 44, Worship Street, E.C.—has a number of centres in the country. The Guild holds an Annual Exhibition of its members' work.

The Junior Art Workers' Guild was founded in 1896. The hon. secretaries are Hugh Arnold, 12, Bedford Gardens, Kensington, W., and Dudley Heath, Pembroke Lodge, Winchmore Hill, N.

The Fabian Arts Group was founded in 1907. Holbrook Jackson, Mill Hill, N.W., is hon-secretary. The object of the Group is the interpretation of the relationship of Art and Philosophy to Socialism. Lectures and discussions take place fortnightly during the winter in Clifford's Inn Hall, Fleet Street.

The Leeds Arts Club, 18, Park Lane, Leeds—A. W. Waddington, hon. sec.—affirms the mutual dependence of Art and Ideas. The rooms of the club provide a general meeting place, and discussions, lectures, and exhibitions are given from time to time.

The Loft Arts Club, Bradford—William A. Stewart, 3, Park Row, Heaton, Bradford, hon. sec.—has similar objects to those of the Leeds Arts Club. It provides a studio for actual arts and crafts work.

The Labour Church.

The Labour Church was founded in October, 1891, at a time when all Reformers were under great depression. Its object was to arouse the consciences of religious people as to Social and Industrial wrongs, and to give expression to the religion of the Labour Movement. It stands for the fullest application of the principles of Socialism to national and international life. Improvement of character must be accompanied by improvements in social conditions.

The hon. secretary of the Labour Church Union is John Mitchell, 13, Moorwell Place, Eccleshill, Bradford, and among other leading members are F. H. Gorle (Watford), president, and T. A. Pierce (Nottingham), treasurer.

The Secular Education League.

The Secular Education League—H. Snell, secretary, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.—advocates what is regarded by a rapidly-increasing number of people as the only permanent, just, and satisfactory solution of the "religious" difficulty in national education, viz.: That all education paid for by the State should be confined to secular subjects.

The Penal Reform League—Miss Sime Seruya, hon. treas., and Capt. A. J. St. John, 7, Holly Village, Highgate, N., hon. sec.—was formed to help to a more healthy and reasonable treatment of criminals.

A new society in process of formation in November, 1907, was the Socialist Women's Bureau, Chandos Hall, 21a, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden.

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FIRST GARDEN CITY, LTD.

The eyes, not only of the United Kingdom, but of the world, are turned to Letchworth, and there is now something more than green fields and smiling hedgerows to be seen, though the beauty of the former is not to be spoilt.

The estate, consisting of six square miles of picturesque country, now has, all on its town area (one-third of the estate) a population of 5,000 inhabitants, 1,000 houses, 13 factories, 4 workshops, 44 shops, 5 places of worship, 7¾ miles of new roads, 10 miles of water mains, 10 miles of gas mains, 15¾ miles of sewers, six hotels; whilst 200 acres of parks, open spaces, &c., are also included in the town area, and are quite independent of the 2,500 acres of rural land comprising the agricultural belt round the town. The Garden City Company has its own gas supply, with a capacity of 20 million feet per annum, which is at present being more than doubled; its own water supply, the reservoir having a capacity of 250,000 gallons; and an electric current generating station for the supply of power.

The health statistics for 1906 show a birth rate of 16·6 per thousand, and a death rate of 2·75 per thousand.

The 13 industries mentioned as working on the estate comprise W. H. Smith and Son, bookbinders and printers, of Strand, London; J. M. Dent & Co., bookbinders, and publishers of "Every Man's Library"; Garden City Press, Ltd., printers and publishers; Heatley-Gresham Engineering Works, makers of motor-cabs; Idris & Co., mineral water manufacturers, and others.

The county and local rates average 2s. 6d. in the £, and no doubt the fact that these rates will remain low will act as an inducement to manufacturers to transfer their works there.

Town Planning.

Letchworth is the most signal illustration of efficient town planning and organised development in the country. An Exhibition of Urban Cottages and Small Holdings was held this summer, and 60 model cottages erected, being planned in order to demonstrate how dwellings could be picturesquely arranged so as to obviate the dreary monotony of long rows of "brick boxes with slate lids." The exhibition was a great success, and was inspected by practically all the housing and land experts of the country as well as by some hundreds of specially-appointed delegates from municipal authorities.

The questions upon which Letchworth has direct bearing are: Urban Congestion, Slums, Rural Depopulation, Town Planning, High Death Rate, Physical Degeneration, Unearned Increment, Industrial Decentralisation, &c.

Full particulars of the scheme with illustrated literature, can be obtained from the Secretary, Estate Office, Letchworth, or from the London Office, 326a, High Holborn, London, W.C.

NATIONAL HOUSING REFORM COUNCIL.

The Housing Reform Council—of which Mr. H. R. Aldridge, 18, Dulverton Road, Leicester, is Secretary—has been active in the matters of slum clearance, town planning, and rural housing reform. Its Parliamentary Committee now includes 130 M.P.s. In addition to taking part in organising the great Housing demonstration of April 20th, addressed by the Prime Minister, the Council organised, jointly with the International Housing Committee, the International Housing Congress of August. The Council includes amongst its members the Engineers, Boiler-makers, Spinners, Shipwrights, and other leading trade unions, as well as over 30 Co-operative Societies and a number of other Labour bodies. The London offices are at 432, Strand, W.C.

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The Permanent International Housing Committee, representing the leading European countries and the United States, has its head-quarters in Belgium. M. O. Velghe, Ministry of Agriculture, Brussels, is the Hon. Secretary.

CO-PARTNERSHIP HOUSING.

This system is already in vogue in Germany, where there are now over 700 societies with a membership of 115,000, some 1,700 dwellings, and capital of a million and a quarter sterling. Between eight and nine million pounds of public money has been lent to these societies.

Meanwhile, even without these advantages the English Co-partnership Housing Movement has grown remarkably, especially since the Co-partnership Housing Council was formed. By June, 1907, there were: Societies, 9; capital, £82,000; property, £148,000.

In September, 1907, in addition to the Tenant Co-operators there were Societies at Ealing, Letchworth, Sevenoaks, Leicester, Bournville, Manchester, Beacon Hill, Hampstead, Oldham, Fallings Park (Wolverhampton), Rubery, and Brighton. Other societies projected were Harborne (Birmingham), Broad Meadow (Birmingham), Warrington, and Oxford. When their building is completed these societies will have about 3,500 houses.

DIRECTORY OF SOCIETIES.

The Borough of Poplar Trades and Labour Representation Committee is an amalgamation of the Trades Council and L.R.C. Address: 6, Campbell Road, Bromley-by-Bow, E.

ARBITRATION (INDUSTRIAL) AND CONCILIATION BOARDS.

Industrial Union of Employers and Employed, Employers' sec., T. Smithies Taylor, Stoughton Street Works, Leicester; Men's sec., W. J. Davis, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.

Joint Board of Arbitration, representing Scottish Section of Co-op. Union and the Parl. Comtee. of Scottish T.U. Congress. Sec., Jas. Deans, 71, St. James Street, Kingston, Glasgow.

Joint Committee of Trade Unionists and Co-operators, J. Johnston, J.P., Oak Bank Avenue, Manchester.

London Labour Conciliation and Arbitration Board, K. B. Murray, London Chamber of Commerce, 1 and 2, Oxford Court, near 109, Cannon Street, E.C.

ARBITRATION (INTERNATIONAL) AND PEACE.

Anglo-German Friendship Committee (1906), Francis W. Fox, Caxton House, Tothill Street, S.W.

Bureau International de la Haye (Arbitration), M. L. H. Ruysennaers, sec., 71, Pritzergracht, The Hague.

Bureau International de la Paix, Kanonenweg 12, Berne, Switzerland.

Bureau Interparlementaire, Administrateur. M. Gobat, Conseiller National, Berne, Switzerland.

Comité Nobel du Parlement Norvégien (Prix Nobel de la Paix), Louis C. Lange, Drammensvei 19, Christiania, Norway.

Institut International de la Paix, Edmond Izard, Monaco.

Internat. Arbitration League, Sir W. R. Cremer, M.P., 11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.

Internat. Arbitration and Peace Assn., J. F. Green, 40, Outer Temple, W.C.

International Law Association, T. Baty, D.C.L., and G. G. Phillimore, hon. secs., 1, Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, E.C.

Peace Committee of Society of Friends, 12, Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C.

Peace Society, Dr. W. E. Darby, sec., 47, New Broad Street, E.C.

National Council of Peace Societies, H. S. Perris, 40, Outer Temple, E.C.

W. of Scotland Peace and Arbit. Soc., W. J. Begg, 150, Hope St., Glasgow.

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ANTI-VICE.

Alliance of Honour, 5, Beresford Road, Canonbury, N.
Anti-gambling League, hon. sec., J. Hawke, 13, Victoria Street, S.W.
Friends' Assoc. for Abol. of State Regulation of Vice, Maurice Gregory, sec., 19, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C.
Internat. Fed. for Abol. of State Regul. of Vice, 18, Tothill Street, S.W.
London Council for Promotion of Public Morality, 37, Norfolk Street, W.C.
London Diocesan Assoc. for Care of Friendless Girls, Percy Taylor, Charterhouse, E.C.
National Vigilance Association, 319, High Holborn, W.C.
Opium Trade, Society for Suppression of, 181, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Social Purity Alliance, E. Hammond, sec., 18, Tothill St., Westminster, S.W.
Southwark Diocesan Assoc. for Care of Friendless Girls, Bishop's House, Kennington Park, S.E.
South London Social Purity Work, J. O. Bairstow, Hawthorne Dene, Kennington Park, S.E.
White Cross League, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

CO-OPERATIVE.

Agricultural Organisation Soc., Ltd. (educational), Dacre House, Victoria Street, S.W.
Agricultural Co-operative Fed., Ltd. (trading), Dacre House, Victoria Street, S.W.
Co-operative Brotherhood Trust, Ltd., sec., 37, Newington Green Road, N.
Co-operative Insurance Society, J. Odgers, sec., Long Millgate, Manchester.
Co-operative Legal Aid Assn., 40, Outer Temple, W.C.
Co-operative Productive Fed., R. Halstead, 1, Narborough Road, Leicester.
Co-operative Union, 2, Nicholas Croft, High Street, Manchester.
Co-operative Wholesale Society, Balloon Street, Manchester.
Co-part. Tenants Housing Council, F. Litchfield, F.S.S., hon. sec., 6, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
International Co-operative Alliance, 6, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
Irish Agric. Org. Soc., 22, Lincoln Place, Dublin.
Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society, 151, Thomas Street, Dublin.
Irish Co-operative Agency Society, 13, William Street, Limerick.
Labour Co-partnership Assn., 6, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
Leicester Co-op. Small Holdings Assn., sec., W. H. Barton, 4, Union St., L'ter.
National Co-operative Festival Society, 6, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, 95, Morrison Street, Glasgow.
Scottish Co-operative Women's Guild, 1, Orwell Terrace, Edinburgh.
Urban Co-operative Banks' Assn., H. C. Devine, 39, Victoria Street, S.W.
Women's Co-operative Guild, Miss Llewelyn Davies, Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland.

ECONOMIC, FISCAL, &c.

Cobden Club, J. A. M. Macdonald, M.P., Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.
Financial Reform Assn., J. W. S. Callie, 18, Hackins Hey, Liverpool.
Free Trade Union, Miss I. Pretious, 8, Victoria Street, S.W.
Land Values, English League for Taxation of, 376-7, Strand, W.C.
Land Values, Scottish League for Taxation of, 13, Dundas Street, Glasgow.
Unionist Free Trade Club, 38, Victoria Street, S.W.
Women's Free Trade Union, Lady Frances Balfour and Lady Bamford-Slack, 8, Victoria Street, S.W.

(See also Tariff Reform Societies, page 78.)

EDUCATIONAL AND CHILDREN'S INTERESTS.

Adult School Union, London, 47, Millman Street, W.C.
Arts for Schools Assn., 29, Queen Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.
Bray's Institution for Founding Libraries, 19, Delahay St., Westm'ster, S.W.
Childhood Society, W. J. Durrie Mulford, sec., 74A, Margaret Street, W.

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College for Men and Women, University Hall, Gordon Square, W.C.
Committee on Wage-earning Children, Miss N. Adler, 6, Craven Hill, W.
Froebel Soc. and National Froebel Union, 4, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
Gaelic League, 24, Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin.
Home Reading Union, National, Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, W.C.
Internat. Congress, Welfare and Protection of Children, 8, Wells Street, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.
Kyrie Society (Art and Music for the people), 2, Manchester Street, W.
Library Assn., Whitcomb House, Whitcomb Street, Pall Mall East.
London Progressive Education Council, Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.
London School of Economics, H. J. Mackinder, Clare M'k't, Kingsway, W.C.
Moral Instruction League, Harrold Johnson, sec., 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
National Education Assn., Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.
Physical Education and Improvement, National League for, B. Halley, sec., 49-50, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.
Physical Welfare of School Children, Committee for, Wm. Sanders, sec., 23, Bride Lane, E.C.
Pure Literature Society, R. Turner, 11, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Ruskin College, Oxford, Dennis Hird, Principal.
Secular Education League, H. Snell, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Social and Pol. Education League, H. Knight, 5, Pump Court, E.C.
Society for Encouragement of the Fine Arts, 9, Conduit Street, W.
Sunday Lecture Society, 10, Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
State Children's Assn., 58, Old Broad Street, E.C.
Toynbee Hall Education Committee, Commercial Street, E.
University Extension, Cambridge, R. D. Roberts, M.A., Syndicate Bldgs., Cambridge.
University Extension, Oxford, J. A. R. Marriott, M.A., Oxford.
Workers' Educational Assn., 24, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Working Men's College, Crowndale Road, St. Pancras, N.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Anglo-American League, Dr. P. C. Maxwell, sec., Trafalgar Buildings, W.C.
Balkan Committee, sec., W. Moore, 10, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C.
Congo Reform Association, sec., E. D. Morel, 4, Oldhall Street, Liverpool.
Entente Cordiale, hon. sec., W. H. Sands, 5, Fig Tree Court, Temple, E.C.
Friends of Armenia, Miss E. Cantlow, 47, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.
Friends of Russian Freedom, J. F. Green, 40, Outer Temple, Strand, W.C.
International Subject Races Joint Committee, hon. sc., Mrs. Dryhurst, 11, Devonshire Hill, Hampstead, N.W.
Opium Trade, Soc. for Suppression of, 181, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

HEALTH AND FOOD REFORM.

Anti-vaccination League, National, C. Gane, 50, Parliament Street, S.W.
Consumption, National Assn. for Prevention of, 20, Hanover Square, W.
Cremation Soc., G. A. Noble, 324, Regent Street, W.
Cremation Soc., Scottish, R. K. Thomson, 142, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
Health Society, National, Miss Lankester, 53, Berners Street, W.
Order of the Golden Age, Paignton, Devon.
Public Health, Royal Institute of, 37, Russell Square, W.C.
Rational Dress League, Mrs. Hartung, 10, Guildford Street, W.C.
Vegetarian Federal Union, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.
Vegetarian Soc., Albert Broadbent, 257, Deansgate, Manchester.

HUMANITARIAN.

Anti-bearing Rein Society, E. Bell, York House, Portugal Street, W.C.
Brabazon Employment Scheme (for Paupers), 73, Church St., Kensington, W.
Brit. U. for Abol. of Vivisection, hon. sec., Dr. Hadwen, 32, Charing C., S.W.
Canine Defence League, sec., J. Hughes, 27, Regent Street, S.W.
Capital Punishment, Soc. for Abolition of, Carl Heath, 58, Montem Road, Forest Hill, S.E.
Children's National Guild of Courtesy, 8, Henrietta Street, Strand, W.C.

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Discharged Prisoners' Aid Soc., J. S Maddison, 32, Charing Cross, S.W.
Dumb Friends League, sec., A. J. Coke, 118, Victoria Street, S.W.
Feeble-minded, Nat. Soc. for promoting Welfare of, 53, Victoria Street, W.
Foreigners in Distress, Friend of, 23-24, Wormwood Street, E.C.
Howard Association, sec., Thos. Holmes, Devonshire Chrs., Bishopsgate Without, E.C.
Humanitarian League, hon. sec., H. S. Salt, 53, Chancery Lane, W.C.
International Anti-vivisection Council, 32, Sackville Street, W.
Kindness to Animals Soc., Westow Vicarage, Kirkham Abbey, York.
London Anti-vivisection Society, Sidney Trist, sec., 13, Regent Street, S.W.
London Schools Dinner Assn., A. H. Ward, 32, John Street, W.C.
Ministering Children's League, Mrs. Arthur Phillip, organising sec., c/o Countess of Meath, 83, Lancaster Gate, W.
National Anti-vivisection Soc., Stephen Coleridge, hon. sec., 92, Victoria Street, S.W.
Nat. Soc. for Preven. of Cruelty to Children, R. J. Parr, Leicester Sq., W.C.
Parliamentary Assn. of the British Union for Abolition of Vivisection, Atherley Jones, K.C., M.P., hon. sec., Parliament Mns., Victoria St., S.W.
Penal Reform League, Capt. A. J. St. John, 7, Holly Village, Highgate, N.
Ragged School Union, Sir John Kirk, 32, John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.
Romilly Soc.: Criminal Law Amendt., T. C. Smith, Goldsmith Buildings, Temple, E.C.
Royal Soc. for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Capt. Derriman, 105, Jermyn Street, S.W.

IMPERIAL QUESTIONS.

Aborigines Protection Soc., 4, Broadway, S.W.
Anti-slavery Society, 284-298, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.
Indian National Congress, British Ctee., W. D. Hall, sec., 9, Bridge St. S.W.
Imperial Federalist Association, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.
Imperial Fed. (Defence) Comtee., H. D'Egville, 11A. Princess St., W'm'r, S.W.
Native Races and Liquor Traffic, United Committee, L. H. Nott, sec., Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

LAND AND HOUSING.

Agricultural Organis. Soc., Ltd., Dacre Ho., Dacre St., Victoria St., S.W.
Allotments and Small Holdings Assn., C. D. Sturge, 116, Vivian Road, Harborne, Birmingham.
Commons and Footpaths Preserv. Soc., 25, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W.
Co-operative Small Holdings Soc., 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.
Co-Partnership Tenants' Housing Council, F. Litchfield, sec., 6, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
East London Tenants' Protection Committee (free legal advice), H. S. Lewis, Toynbee Hall, 28, Commercial Street, Whitechapel, E.
English Land Colonisation Soc., 29, Old Queen Street, S.W.
First Garden City, Ltd., Harold Craske, 326A, High Holborn, W.C.
Garden City Assn., E. G. Culpin, 602, Birkbeck Bank Chambers, W.C.
Highways Protection League, W. L. L. Bell, 4, Harcourt Bldgs., Temple, E.C.
Irish Agric. Org. Soc., 22, Lincoln Place, Dublin.
Irish Agric. Wholesale Soc., 151, Thomas Street, Dublin.
Lancashire and Dist. Land Reform Council, 665, Ashton New Road, Clayton, Manchester.
Land Law Reform Assn., J. Rowlands, M.P., 21, John St., Adelphi, Strand, W.C.
Land Nationalisation Society, Jos. Hyder, 432, West Strand, W.C.
Land Values, English League for Taxat'n of, F. Verinder, 376-7, Strand, W.C.
Land Values, Scottish League for Taxation of, 13, Dundas Street, Glasgow.
Mansion House Council on Dwellings of Poor, 31, Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
Metropolitan Assn. for Improving Dwellings of Industrious Classes, 1, Pancras Square, N.W.
National Housing Reform Council, H. R. Aldridge, 18, Dulverton Road, Leicester.

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National Workmen's Housing Council, Fred. Knee, 120, Sugden Road, Clapham Common, S.W.
Northern Allotments Society, sec., Joseph W. Wakinshaw, Westerhope.
Tenants' Housing and Protection League, 81, Spa Road, Bermondsey, S.E.
Roads Improvement Assn., W. Rees Jeffreys, 1, Albemarle St., Piccadilly, W.
Rural Housing and Sanitation Assn., Parliament Mans., Victoria St., S.W.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL.

Association of Municipal Corporations, Palace Chambers, 9, Bridge Street, Westminster.
Belfast Citizens' Association, A. H. Muir, sec., 2, Wellington Street, Belfast.
Bradford City Guild of Help, Walter Milledge, 2, Darley Street, Bradford.
County Councils Association, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster.
Darlington Municipal Reform League, W. Haw, 11, Katherine St., Darl'gton.
Irish Women's Suffrage and Loc. Govt. Assn., hon. sec., Mrs. A. M. Haslam, 125, Leinster Road, Dublin.
Local Government Information Bureau, c/o Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn, W.C.; or I.L.P., 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.
London Presbyterian Social Service Union, Dr. Charles Gray, hon. sec., 1, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.
London Municipal Society (anti-municipal), 11, Tothill Street, Westminster.
London Reform Union, F. W. Galton, Trafalgar Bldgs., N'th'm'land Av., W.C.
Manchester Citizens' Assn., T. R. Marr, sec., 104, King Street, Manchester.
Municipal Tramways Assn., pres., J. M. McElroy, Tramways Dept., M'c'ster.
Outer London Enquiry, G. E. Arkell, School of Economics, Clare Mkt., W.C.
Women's Local Govt. Soc., Miss Berry, assist. sec., 17, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.
Women Guardians and Local Government Assn., Mrs. Clark, 66, Barton Arcade, Manchester.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Coal Smoke Abatement Society, 25, Victoria Street, S.W.
Decimal Assn., 1 and 2, Oxford Court, E.C.
Early Closing Assn., J. A. Stacey, sec., 21, New Bridge Street, E.C.
Esperanto Assn., Brit., hon. sec., Harold Clegg, 13, Arundel Street, W.C.
Jewish Territorial Organisation, 15, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.
Marriage Law Reform Assn., T. P. Allen, 2, Dean's Yard, S.W.
Marriage Law Defence Union, E. H. Blackett-Ord., sec., Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.
Peabody Donation Fund, F. B. Crouch, sec., 64, Queen Street, E.C.
Personal Rights Assn., J. H. Levy, 32, Charing Cross, S.W.
Premature Burial, London Assn. for Prevention of, hon. med. sec., Dr. J. Stenson Hooks, 7C, Bickenhall Mansions, W.
Proportional Representation Society, John H. Humphrey, hon. sec., 107, Algernon Road, Lewisham, S.E.
Police and Public Vigilance Society, J. Timewell, 141, Gower Street, W.C.
Psychical Research, Society for, 20, Hanover Square, W.
Society of Comparative Legislation, 8, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
Weights and Measures Assn., British, George Moore, 25, Victoria St., S.W.

POLITICAL. See pages 68-78.

RECREATIVE.

Anti-Puritan League, Cecil Chesterton, hon. sec., 11, Warwick Gardens, W.
Children's Country Holiday Fund, 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
"Clarion" Clubs (Cyclist, Handicraft, Vocal, Social, &c.), 44, Worship St., E.C.
Co-operative Holidays Assn., T. A. Leonard, sec., Hayfield, Stockport.
Court and Alley Concerts, H. Lee J. Jones, 119, Limekiln Lane, Liverpool.
London Playing Fields Society, sec., G. J. Mordaunt, 45, Gloucester St., S.W.
Metropolitan Public Gardens' Association, B. Holmes, 83, Lancaster Gate, W
National Sunday League, H. Mills, sec., 34, Red Lion Square, W.C.
Recreative Evening Schools Assn., J. E. Flower, M.A., 37, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.
Stage Society (Incorporated), 9, Arundel Street, W.C.

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RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR.

Brotherhood Church (Christian Socialist), A. Baker, M.A., Southgate Rd., N.
Christian Social Brotherhood, W. Reason, M.A., Macdonald Road, New Southgate, N.
Christian Social Union, Rev. P. Dearmer, 102, Adelaide Road, N.W.
Christian Social Service Union, Rev. J. L. Brooks, Tr'ning Colony, Lingfield.
Church Socialist League, Rev. J. H. Hastings, Halton, Lancs.
Evangelical Free Churches, Nat. C'ncil, Memorial Hall, Farringdon St., E.C.
Free Church Council, Rev. T. Law, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.
Guild of St. Matthew, 376, Strand. W.C.
Labour Church Union, J. H. Mitchell, hon. sec., 13, Moorwell Place, Ecclesihill, Bradford.
Liberation Soc., for Disestab. of Ch. of Eng., Caxton House, Tothill St., S.W.
Rationalist Press Assoc., 17, Johnson's Ct., Fleet St., E.C.
National Secular Society, Miss E. M. Vance, 2, Newcastle Street, Farringdon Street, E.C.
Salvation Army, 101, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Secular Education League, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Socialist Sunday Schools Union, Alfred Russell, 366, New City Rd., Glasgow.
Union of Ethical Societies, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C.

SETTLEMENTS.

London.—Bermondsey Sett., Farncombe St., S.E. Ward: J. Scott Lidgett, M.A.
Ditto, Wom. Sett., 149, Lower Rd., Rotherhithe, S.E. Head: Miss Simmons.
Browning Hall, York St., Walworth, S.E. Warden. Herbert Stead, M.A.
Cambridge House, 131, Camberwell Rd., S.E. Head: W. J. Conybeare, M.A.
Canning Town Women's Sett., Barking Rd., E. Head: Miss Cheetham.
Chalfont House, 20, Queen Square, W.C.
Deptford Fund, 24, Buckingham Palace Rd., S.W. Secretary: Mrs. Lamert.
Gonville and Caius Col. Sett., Harroway Rd. Head: Rev. A. Shillito, B.A.
Lady Margaret Hall Sett., 129, Kennington Rd., S.E. Head: Miss Pearson.
Mansfield House, Canning Town, E. Warden: H. Cubbon, M.A.
Maurice Hostel (men), 64, Britannia St., City Rd. Head: Rev. R. R. Hyde.
Maurice Hostel, Wom. House, 108, Shepherdess Walk, N. Head: Miss F. Eves.
Morley College, 131, Waterloo Road, S.E. Head: E. J. Urwick.
N. Lond. Ladies' Sett., York House, 37, Hartham Road, Holloway, N. Head: Miss Shelford.
Oxford House, Mape St., Bethnal Grn., E. Head: Rev. H. S. Woollcombe.
Passmore Edwards Sett., Tavistock Pl. Warden: G. E. Gladstone, M.A.
Presbytrn. Wom. Sett., 56, E. India Dock Rd., E. Head: Mrs. Alex. Matheson.
St. Helen's House, The Grove, Stratford, E. Head: Miss St. Hill.
St. Hilda's East, Cheltnm., Coll. Sett., Old Nicholl St., Bethnal Green, E. Head: Miss Bruce.
St. Margaret's House (Branch of Oxford House), 21, Old Ford Rd., Bethnal Green, E. Head: Miss Harington.
St. Mildred's House, Millwall, Isle of Dogs, E. Head: Miss Wintour.
Talbot House Wom. Sett., 48, Addington Sq., Camberwell. Head: Miss Harmer.
Toynbee Hall, 28, Commercial Street, E.
Wom. Workers' Coll. (Grey Ladies), Dartmouth Row, Blackheath, S.E. Head: Miss Wordsworth.
Wom. Univ. Sett., 45, Nelson Sq., Blackfriars Rd. Head: Miss H. Gladstone.
Working Wom. Coll., Fitzroy Square, W.
Birmingham.—Women's Sett., 318, Summer Lane. Warden: Miss Albright.
Bristol.—Broad Plain House, St. Phillip's. Warden: F. N. Colborne.
Cardiff.—Univ. Sett., E. Moor. Hon. sec.: Miss Lilian Howell, Grove House, Richmond Crescent.
Chesterfield.—The Sett., Church Lane. Head: Miss Markham.
Darlington.—The Ladies' Settlement.

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Edinburgh.—Univ. Sett. Assn., Surgeon Sq. Warden: Rev. C. W. G. Taylor.
Univ. Hall. Senior resident: Prof. Pat. Geddes.
Town and Gown Association, 21, Rutland St.
Glasgow.—Toynbee House, Cathedral Court, Rotten Row. Hon. sec: H. D. Jackson.
Univ. Students' Sett., 10, Possil Rd. Warden: Jas. Cunnison, M.A.
Broomielaw Free Church Coll. Mission, 52, Carrick St., Anderston. Warden: Rev. J. Law, M.A.
Queen Margaret Sett., 75, Elliot St., Anderston. Head: Miss Marion Rutherfurd.
Ipswich.—Social Sett., 133-35, Fore St. Managing sec.: W. Edmund Calver.
Liverpool.—Victoria Wom. Sett., 294, Netherfield Rd., N. Warden: Miss Macadam.
Manchester.—Lancs. Coll. Sett., Embden Street, Hulme. Warden: Rev. T. T. James.
Ditto (Women's). Head: Miss B. Pochin.
Art Museum and Univ. Sett., 200, Every St., Ancoats. Warden: T. R. Marr.
Ditto (Women's). Head: Miss Alice Crompton, M.A.
Church House, 291, Gt. Ancoats St., Manchester.
Ladies' Church House, 117, Rusholme Rd. Head: Miss Annie Wright.
Middlesbrough.—Congregational Women's Sett. Resdt. Supdt.: Miss Harris.
Stoke-on-Trent.—Women's Sett., Fenton House. Head: Miss Garnett.

SOCIAL BETTERMENT.

British Institute of Social Service, 11, Southampton Row, E.C.
Charity Organisation Society, C. S. Loch, Dennison Ho., Vauxhall Bridge Rd.
Christian Social Service Union, 34, Paternoster Row, E.C.
Church Army, 130, Edgware Road, N.W.
Day Nurseries for Children, Mrs. C. S. Jones, 376, Strand, W.C.
East End Emigration Fund, 34, Newark Street, Stepney.
Emigrants' Information Office, 31, Broadway, S.W.
Friends' Social Union, P. Alden, organising sec., 1, Woburn Square, W.C.
Irish Peasantry Society, 61, Stamford Street, Blackfriars, S.E.
London Home Workers' Aid Assn., hon. manager, Thomas Holmes, 12, Bedford Road, Tottenham, N.
National Anti-sweating League, 133, Salisbury Square, E.C.
New Era Sociolog. Society, A. J. W. Hardy, 71, Crayford Rd., Tufnell Pk., N.
Old-age Pensions, Nat. Comtee., F. Rogers, Browning Hall, Walworth, S.E.
Reformatory and Refuge Union, 117, Victoria Street, S.W.
Social Service, British Institute of, 11, Southampton Row, W.C.
Society for Improving Condition of Labouring Classes, 4, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
Sociological Society, 24, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Wesleyan Method. Union for Soc. Service, Leysian Mission, City Rd., E.C.

SOCIALIST.

Brotherhood Association, F. L. Staff, 37, Newington Green Road, N.
Christian Social Union, Rev. P. Dearmer, 102, Adelaide Road, N.W.
Clarion Fellowship, Hon. Sec., J. Taylor Clerk, Walston Rd., Stalybridge.
Church Socialist League, Rev. J. H. Hastings, Halton, Lancs.
Fabian Society, E. R. Pease, sec., 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.
Guild of St. Matthew, Conrad Noel, hon. sec., 376, Strand, W.C.
Independent Labour Party, 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.
Keimscott Club, 106, Shepherd's Bush Road, Hammersmith.
Labour Church Union, J. H. Mitchell, 13, Moorwell Pl., Eccleshill, Bradford.
Metropolitan Council, I.L.P., W. Sanders, 18, Brynmaer Road, Battersea.
Poplar Labour League, 121, East India Dock Road, E.
Socialist Party of Gt. Brit., 22, Gt. James Street, W.C.
Social Democratic Fed., H. W. Lee, sec., 21A, Maiden La., Covent Gar., W.C.
Socialist Labour Party, Nat. sec., N. Maclean, 28, Forth Street, Edinburgh.
Socialist Sunday Schools Union, Alfred Russell, 366, New City Rd., Glasgow.

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TEMPERANCE.

Barmaids' Committee, South Villa, Campden Hill Road, W.
British Medical Temperance Assn., Dr. J. J. Ridge, Carlton House, Enfield.
British Temperance League, C. Smith, 29, Union Street, Sheffield.
British Women's Temp'nce Assn., Miss Gertrude Hunt, 47, Victoria St., S.W.
Central Public-house Trust Assn., H. A. Paget, sec., 15, Dean's Yard, S.W.
Church of England Temperance Soc., G. A. Thompson, 4, The Sanctuary, Westminster, S.W.
Good Templars, Intl. Order of, Joseph Malins, 168, Edmund St., Birmingham.
Good Templars, Grand Lodge of Eng., E. Oliver, 168, Edmund St., B'gham.
Good Templars, Grand Lodge of Scotland, T. Honeyman, 40, St. Enoch's Square, Glasgow.
Good Templars, Grand Lodge of Ireland, J. Haverson, City Chambers, Royal Avenue, Belfast.
Irish Temp'nce League, 18, Lombard St., Belfast; 12, Marlborough St., Cork.
Licensing Law Reform League, Hippesley Cox, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.
National Temperance League, J. T. Rae, sec., 34, Paternoster Row, E.C.
National United Temperance Council, C. Pinhorn, 28, Memorial Hall Farringdon Street, E.C.
National Commercial Temperance League, Victoria Avenue, Hull.
North of England Temp. League, Temperance Institute, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
People's Refreshment House Assn., Ltd., R. Cripps, Broadway Chbrs., S.W.
Scottish Alliance for Temp. and Soc. Reform, 136, Wellington St., Glasgow.
Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Assn., W. J. Allison, 108, Douglas Street, Glasgow.
Scottish Temperance League, James Gillies, 108, Hope Street, Glasgow.
Scottish Temperance Legislation Board, G. F. Barbour, 10, Albyn Place, Edinburgh.
Scottish Threefold Option Alliance, 136, Wellington Street, Glasgow.
Soc. for Study of Inebriety, Dr. T. N. Kelynack, 120, Harley Street, W.
Temperance Legislation League, Parliament Mansions, Victoria St., S.W.
United Kingdom Alliance, W. Williams, 16, Deansgate, Manchester.
United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, Chas. Wakely, 60, Old Bailey, E.C.
Watch Comtee. for Public Control of Liquor Traffic, A. Sherwell, 38, St. Mary's, York.
Women's Total Abstinence Union, Miss Boyd, 4, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

TRADE UNION AND TRADES COUNCIL CENTRAL ORGANISATIONS.

Federated T. & L.C. of Cheshire, W. Carr, 7, Deva Terrace, Chester.
Fed. of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades of the United Kingdom, W. Mosses, 32, Street Lane, Roundhay, Leeds.
General Fed. of Trade Unions, W. A. Appleton, Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, E.C.
Lancashire Fed. of T. & L.C., G. D. Kelley, J.P., 63, Upper Brook St., M'ter.
Midland Counties' Trades Fed., J. Taylor, J.P., 63, Vicar Street, Dudley.
Miners' Fed. of Gt. Brit., T. Ashton, 925, Ashton Old Rd., Fairfield, M'chester.
National Fed. of T. & L.C., J. Curle, J.P., 17, Oxford St., Totterdown, Bristol.
National Fed. of Women Workers, Miss M. McArthur, Club Union Buildings, E.C.
North-eastern Fed. of T. & L.C., J. Merryweather, 46, Buchanan St., Stockton.
Irish T.U. Congress, Parl. Comtee., E. L. Richardson, 7, Melrose Avenue, Fairview, Dublin.
Scottish T.U. Congress, Parl. Comtee, Geo. Carson, 256, Cumberland Street, Glasgow.
T.U. Congress (England and Wales), Parl. Committee, W. C. Steadman, M.P., Effingham House, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.
South and East of England Fed. of T. & L.C., A. Field, 12, Ampton Street, Maidstone.
U.K. Printing and Kindred Trades Fed., G. D. Kelley, M.P., 63, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.

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United Textile Factory Workers' Assn., J. Cross, Weavers' Office, 1, Clayton Street, Blackburn.
Women's T.U. Fed. Coun., Miss M. H. Irwin, 58, Renfield Street, Glasgow.
Yorkshire Federated T. & L.C., W. H. Leach, 34, Rydole Ter., Holbut, Yorks.

WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS.

British Women's Temperance Assn., 47, Victoria Street, S.W.
Central Society for Women's Suffrage, Miss E. Palliser, sec., 25, Victoria Street, S.W.
Clubs Industrial Assn., Miss L. Montagu, 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.
Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage, Miss Jessie C. Methven, 25, Gt. King Street, Edinburgh.
Factory Helpers' Union, 26, George Street, Hanover Square, W.
Industrial Law Committee, hon. sec., Miss Tuckwell, sec., Miss E. Maynard, York Mansions, York Street, S.W.
International Council of Women's Associations for Progress and Social Improvement (non-political), Lady Aberdeen, pres., 58, Grosvenor St., W.
International Council of Women. President, Lady Aberdeen; hon. corres. sec., Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, D.Sc., Aberdeen, N.B.
Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Govt. Assn., Mrs. A. M. Haslam, hon. sec., 125, Leinster Road, Dublin.
Jewish Girls' Club and Institute, 8, Dean Street, Soho, W.C.
Metropolitan Assn. of Women in Council, Miss Otter, hon. sec., 2, Hyde Park Mansions, W.
National Fed. of Women Workers, Miss M. McArthur, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.
National Union for the Technical Education of Women in Domestic Sciences, Mrs. R. W. Eddison, The Manor, Adel, Leeds.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Miss F. Sterling, sec., 25, Victoria Street, S.W.
National Union of Women Workers of C. B. and I., Miss Janes, organising sec., 9, Southampton Street, High Holborn; President, Miss Clifford.
National Women's Social and Political Union, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.
Scottish Council for Women's Trades, Miss M. H. Irwin, 58, Renfield Street, Glasgow.
Scottish Women's Liberal Federation, Miss Youngworth, sec., 7, West George Street, Glasgow.
Socialist Women's Bureau, Chandos Hall, Maiden Lane, W.C.
Stansfield Trust, Miss Harvey, 16, Mary's Hill Road, Shortlands, Kent.
Women's Co-operative Guild, Miss Llewellyn Davies, Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland.
Women's Employment Defence League, chairman, Miss A. H. Bigg, 14, Radnor Place, W.
Women's Free Trade Union, 8, Victoria Street, S.W.
Women's Freedom League, 18, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Women's Industrial Council, Miss Papworth, sec., 7, John St., Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Labour League, Mrs. F. Macpherson, 34, St. Thomas's Mansions, Westminster Bridge, S.W.
Women's Liberal Federation, Lady Bamford-Slack and Mrs. Broadly Reid, hon. secs., 124, Victoria Street, S.W.
Women's Liberal Unionist Assn., Miss W. Dolan, Parliament Mns., S.W.
Women's Local Gov. Soc., Miss Berry, sec., 17, Tothill St., Westm., S.W.
Women's National Liberal Assn., Miss Page, sec., 138, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.
Women's Settlements, see pages 215, 216.
Women's T.U. Leag., Miss M. McArthur, Club Union Bldgs., Clerkenwell Road, E.C.
World's Women's Christian Temperance Union, Miss A. E. Slack, hon. sec., Greenhill House, Ripley, Derbyshire.
Young Women's Christian Assn., 25-26, George St., Hanover Square, W.

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PRESS DIRECTORY.

HINTS FOR CIRCULARISING THE PRESS.

Those desirous of having their communications inserted in the most prominent way in the daily papers, whether they be letters, statements, reports of meetings, programme for the future, books or pamphlets for review, should bear in mind the following points:—

(1) **Be as Prompt as Possible.**—A report of a meeting held on a Tuesday night is "news" for the Wednesday papers, it may possibly be inserted on Thursday, it is certain to be excluded if it only arrives at the office in time for Friday's issue. Again, advance proofs of an article not yet published are likely to be noticed where subsequent attention would not be given.

(2) **Be as Brief as Possible.**—Editors are always in a hurry, and will leave out a long-winded report rather than take the trouble to cut it down themselves.

(3) **Write Clearly.**—One side of the paper only, and typewritten "copy" usually preferred.

(4) **Reach all Papers Simultaneously.**—Remember that "copy" which has once appeared in one paper is "stale" to all the rest. So that if you wish to get noticed by several papers at once your copy should be in their hands simultaneously. If morning papers, then letters, programmes, advance proofs, &c., should be dispatched to reach sometime between first post and 5 or 6 p.m. (the earlier the better) for insertion in the following day, newsagencies about 2 p.m. or 3 p.m. If "news" or reports of meetings, the Press and the agencies will take it up to 9 p.m., or even 10 p.m., or later if valuable and important.

NEWS AGENCIES.

Central News, 5, New Bridge Street, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
Exchange Telegraph Agency, 56-7, Fleet St., E.C.
London News Agency, 173-5, Fleet Street, E.C.
Press Association, 14, New Bridge Street, E.C.
Reuter's (foreign), 24, Old Jewry, E.C.

LONDON MORNING PAPERS.

Daily Chronicle (Lib.), Whitefriars Street, E.C.
Daily Express (Tariff Reform), 18, Shoe Lane, E.C.
Daily Graphic (Cons.), Milford Lane, W.C.
Daily Mail (Cons.), Carmelite House, Carmelite Street, E.C.
Daily Mirror (Cons.), 12, Whitefriars Street, E.C.
Daily News (Lib.), Bouverie Street, E.C.
Daily Telegraph (Cons.), 141, Fleet Street, E.C.
Morning Advertiser (Cons.), 127, Fleet Street, E.C.
Morning Leader (Lib.), Stonecutter Street, E.C.
Morning Post (Cons.), 7, Aldwych, W.C.
Standard (Tariff Reform), 104, Shoe Lane, E.C.
Times (Cons.), Printing House Square, E.C.
Tribune (Lib.), Bouverie Street, E.C.

LONDON EVENING PAPERS.

Globe (Cons.), 367, Strand, W.C.
Evening News (Cons.), Carmelite Street, E.C.
Evening Standard and St. James' Gazette (Cons.), Shoe Lane, E.C.
Pall Mall Gazette (Cons.), Newton Street, Holborn, W.C.
Star (Radical), Stonecutter Street, E.C.
Westminster Gazette (Lib.), Tudor Street, E.C.

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NATIONAL DAILY PAPERS.

Aberdeen Journal, Broad Street, Aberdeen.
Aberdeen Free Press, Aberdeen.
Belfast News Letter, 55-59, Donegall Street, Belfast.
Birmingham Daily Post, 38, New Street, Birmingham.
Birmingham Daily Mail, 13, Corporation Street, Birmingham.
Bradford Daily Telegraph, 53, Market Street, Bradford.
Bristol Times and Mirror, St. Stephen Street, Bristol.
Bristol Mercury, 35, Broad Street, Bristol.
Cork Examiner, 95, Patrick Street, Cork.
Dundee Advertiser, 7, Bank Street, Dundee.
East Anglian Times, 13, Carr Street, Ipswich.
Eastern Morning News, 42, Whitefriars Gate, Hull.
Freeman's Journal, 4-8, Prince's Street, Dublin.
Glasgow Herald, 65-69, Buchanan Street, Glasgow.
Huddersfield Examiner, Ramsden Street, Huddersfield.
Irish Independent, 111, Middle Abbey Street, Dublin.
Irish Times, 31, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.
Leeds Mercury, Albion Street, Leeds.
Leicester Daily Mercury, 25-29, Albion Street, Leicester.
Liverpool Mercury and Post, 46-50, Victoria Street, Liverpool.
Londonderry Sentinel, 13-15, Pump Street, Londonderry.
Manchester Evening Chronicle, Withy Grove, Manchester.
Manchester Daily Dispatch, Withy Grove, Manchester.
Manchester Evening News, 3, Cross Street, Manchester.
Manchester Guardian, 3, Cross Street, Manchester.
Newcastle Daily Chronicle, Westgate Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
North Eastern Gazette, Middlesbrough.
North Mail, High Bridge, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Northern Daily Telegraph, Railway Road, Blackburn.
Northern Echo, Darlington.
Northern Whig, Victoria Street, Belfast.
Nottingham Daily Express, Parliament Street, Nottingham.
Northampton Daily Reporter, The Parade, Northampton.
Nottingham Daily Guardian, Sherwood Street, Nottingham.
Oldham Chronicle, Union Street, Oldham.
Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 17, High Street, Sheffield.
Sheffield Independent, 21, Fargate, Sheffield.
South Wales Daily News, 102, St. Mary Street, Cardiff.
The Scotsman, 24, North Bridge Street, Edinburgh.
The Southern Mail, Portsmouth.
The Western Mail, St. Mary Street, Cardiff.
Yorkshire Herald, 9, Coney Street, York.
Yorkshire Observer, 10, Piccadilly, Bradford.
Yorkshire Post, Albion Street, Leeds.
Western Daily Mercury, 9, Frankfort Street, Plymouth.
Western Morning News, Plymouth.

WEEKLY (SUNDAY) PAPERS.

Lloyd's Weekly, 12, Salisbury Square, E.C.
News of the World, 30, Bouverie Street, E.C.
Observer, Strand, W.C.
Referee, Victoria House, Tudor Street, E.C.
Reynolds' Newspaper, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.
Sunday Chronicle, Withy Grove, Manchester.
Sunday Times, 7, Essex Street, Strand, W C.
The People, Milford Lane, Strand, W.C.
Weekly Dispatch, Carmelite Street, E.C.
Weekly Sun, 16, Sergeant's Inn, Fleet Street, E.C.
Weekly Times and Echo, Clement s House, Clement's Inn Passage, W.C.

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LABOUR AND REFORM PRESS.

Despite resolutions adopted unanimously at the Labour Party Conference, Trade Union Congress, and other annual Labour gatherings, no practical step was taken during 1907 towards the production of a Labour daily newspaper. A memorandum on this subject will be found among "Questions of the Day," page 116.

Special mention should, however, be made of the re-organisation of the *New Age*, in May, 1907, under the editorship of Messrs. Holbrook Jackson and A. R. Orage. With it was incorporated the monthly *Labour Record and Review*.

There has also been considerable activity in woman's journalism. The most important contribution was the new paper, *Votes for Women*, 3d. monthly with ½d. weekly supplements, edited by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, which gives the news of the militant agitation together with articles of general interest. Mention should also be made of *The Woman Worker*, edited by Mary Macarthur, 1d. monthly, and *Women's Franchise*, 1d. weekly, edited by Mr. Francis.

Editors and Publishers are requested to forward copies of their publications regularly to *The Reformers' Year Book*, 4, *Clement's Inn, London, W.C.*, for notice in this section.

NATIONAL LABOUR & SOCIALIST ORGANS.

Clarion, w., 1d., Socialist review, R. Blatchford, ed., 44, Worship St., E.C.
Commonwealth, m., Christian Soc. Un., 3, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.
Fabian News, m., 1d., Fabian Society, 3, Clement's Inn, W.C.
Justice, w., 1d., S.D.F., H. Quelch, ed., 37a, Clerkenwell Green, E.C.
Labour Leader, w., 1d., organ of I.L.P., Whitworth Street West, M'chester.
New Age, w., 1d., A. R. Orage and H. Jackson, 1-2, Took's Court, E.C.
Social Democrat, m., 6d., XXth Century Press, 37a, Clerkenwell Green, E.C.
Socialist, m., 1d., Socialist Lab. Party, 28, Forth Street, Edinburgh.
Socialist Standard, m., 1d., Socialist Party of Gt. B., 22, Gt. James St., W.C.

LOCAL LABOUR PAPERS.

Barrow Pioneer, L.R.C., m., free, Cavendish Street, Barrow-in-Furness.
Battersea Vanguard, 1d., 180, Battersea Park Road, S.W.
Blackburn Labour Journal, m., Luke Bates, 56, Peter Street, Blackburn.
Croydon Citizen, w., ½d., H. T. Muggeridge, ed., 18a, Catherine St., Croydon.
East Birmingham Forward, m., ½d., 54, Clodeshall Rd., Alum Rock, Saltley.
Eastern Chronicle, w., ½d., 74a, Coleridge Avenue, Manor Park, Essex.
Forward, I.L.P., m., 1d., A. T. Sutton, Labour Inst., Peckover St., Bradford.
Forward, w., 1d., 164, Howard Street, Glasgow.
Labour Herald, w., 1d., 47, Ellison Street, Jarrow-on-Tyne.
Labour Journal, m., organ of Hull T.C., F. W. Booth, 73, Lambert St., Hull.
Labour Party Circular, q., 28, Victoria Street, S.W.
Leicester Pioneer, w., 1d., 28, Dover Street, Leicester.
Northampton Pioneer, S.D.F., m., Scott, Oakwood Rd., Phippsville, N'h'ton.
Paisley Observer, 12, High Street, Paisley.
Woolwich Pioneer and Labour Jour., w., 1d., 3, New Road, Woolwich.
Worker, w., 1d., 47, Market Street, Huddersfield.
Young Socialist, m., 1d., 51, South Kinning Place, Glasgow.

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TRADE UNION PAPERS.

Amalgamated Engineers' Journal, m., 1d., A.S.E., 110, Peckham Road, S.E.
Amalgamated Toolmakers, m. rep't, W. F. Beston, 38, John Bright St., Birm.
Central London Review, B. K. Bailey, 15, Fairbank Street, N.
Clothiers Operatives, Amal. U. Gazette, m., 32, Cobden Place, Leeds.
Cotton Factory Times, w., 1d., 55, Trevelyan Bldgs., Corporation St., M'ter.
Customs Journal, f., 1d., 10, Portland Place, Prospect Street, Hull.
Eltradion, m., Electrical T.U., Club Union Bldgs., Clerkenwell Road, E.C.
Govt. Workers' Advocate, m., ½d., J. G. King, 55, Doughty Street, W.C.
Grocers' Assistant, m., 1d., J. Aubrey Rees, ed., 49, Eastcheap, E.C.
London Typogr. Journal, London Soc. Comps., 7, St. Bride Street, E.C.
Masons' and Granite-cutters' Journal, m., 8pp., 47, Belmont St., Aberdeen.
Musicians' Report and Journal, m., Williams, 135, Moss Lane E., Manchester.
Post, f., Fawcett, Assoc., C. G. Ammon, ed., 55, Doughty Street, W.C.
Postal Clerks' Herald, m., 195, New Hampton Rd. W., Wolverhampton.
Postman's Gazette, f., J. C. Brown, ed., 125, Howard Street, Glasgow.
Railway Clerk, m., 139-40, Salisbury Court, E.C.
Railway Review, w., 16pp., A.S.R.S., G. J. Wardle, 251, Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.
Revue, Catering Trades (Eng., French, & German), m., 1d., Charlotte St., W.
Settmakers' Journal, m., 2d., 158, George Street, Glasgow.
Scottish Typographical Circular, m., 1d., 24, Clerk Street, Edinburgh.
Shop Assistant, w., 1d., T. Spencer Jones, ed., 186, Fleet Street, E.C.
Sub-Postmaster, m., 2d., Upper Kirkgate, Wakefield.
Telegraph Chronicle, w., 2d., Tudor Street, Whitefriars, E.C.
Trades and Lab. Caz., m., J. Macdonald, ed., London T.C., 41,Cowcross St., E.C
Typographical Circular, m., Typo. Assoc., 312, Deansgate, Manchester.

ARBITRATION AND PEACE.

Concord, m., 1d., Internat. Arb. and Peace Asso., 40, Outer Temple, W.C.
Herald of Peace, m., 1d., Peace Society, 47, New Broad Street, E.C.
Olive Leaf, m., ½d., Peace Society, 47, New Broad Street, E.C.
War or Brotherhood, m., 1d., 14, Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C.

CO-OPERATIVE.

Associate, q., Brotherhood Assoc., 37, Newington Green Road, N.
Comradeship, m.. Royal Arsenal Co-op. Societies, Parson's Hill, Woolwich.
Co-operative News, w., organ of Co-op. Societies, Long Millgate, Manchester.
Co-partnership, m., 1d., 6, Bloomsbury Square, E.C.
Millgate Monthly, m., 3d., Long Millgate, Manchester.
Our Circle, m., 1d. (For Young Co-operators), Co-op. News Office, Long Millgate, Manchester.
Scottish Co-operator, w., 16, Coburg Street, Glasgow.
Wheatsheaf, m., Co-op. Wholesale Soc., Balloon Street, Manchester.

ECONOMIC AND FISCAL.

Economic Review, q., 3s., 34, King Street, Cov. Garden, W.C.
Investors' Review, w., 6d., Norfolk House, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.

FOOD REFORM.

Herald of the Cross, m., 2d., 1, Exhibition Road, Kensington, S.W.
Herald of Health, m., 2d., 11, Southampton Row, W.C.
Herald of the Golden Age, q., 3d., S. H. Beard, Paignton.
Vegetarian, m., 1d., 34, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.
Vegetarian Messenger, m., 1d., 257, Deansgate, Manchester.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Anglo-Russian, m., 1d., J. Prelooker, ed., 21, Paternoster Square, E.C.
Free Russia, m., 1d., 13, Paternoster Row, E.C.
Friend of Armenia, q., 3d., 47, Victoria Street, S.W.
Hellenic Herald, m., 10/- per annum, Craven House, Kingsway, W.C.

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HUMANITARIAN.

Abolitionist, Anti-vivisection, m., 2d., 32, Charing Cross, S.W.
Child's Guardian, m., organ of N.S.P.C.C., Rev. B. Waugh, Leicester Sq., W.C.
Humanitarian, m., 1d., Humanitarian League, 53, Chancery Lane, W.C.
Humane Review, q. 1s., E. Bell, York House, Portugal Street, W.C.
Our Animal Brothers. m., ed., Edith Carrington, 3, Paternoster Bldgs., E.C.
Tuberculosis, q., 6d., Nat. Assoc. for Prev. Consum., 20, Hanover Sq., W.
Vaccination Enquirer and Health Review, m., 1d., 50, Parliament St., S.W.
Zoophilist and Animals' Defender, m., 3d., 25, High St., Blomsbury, W.C.

IMPERIAL QUESTIONS.

Aborigines' Friend, m., 3d., H. R. Fox-Bourne, Orchard House, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
Imperial Colonist, m., 2d., Brit. Women's Emig. Assoc., Imperial Inst., S.W.
India, w., 2d., Ind. Nat. Cong., 85, Palace Chambers, S.W.

IRISH.

An Claidheamh Soluis (Sword of Light), w., 1d., Gaelic League: 24, Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin.
Leader, The (Art and Industries Revival), w., 1d., 33, Lower Abbey St., Dublin.
Peasant, The, w., 1d., 1, Crow Street, Dublin.
Sinn Fein (We Ourselves), w., 1d., Crow Street, Dublin.
Gaelic Journal, m., 2d., 24, Upper Connell Street, Dublin.
New Ireland Review, m., 6d., 94-96, Middle Abbey Street, Dublin.

LAND AND HOUSING.

Garden City, organ of G.C. Assn., m., 1d., 602-3, Birkbeck Bank Chbrs., W.C.
Housing Journal, m., Fred Knee, ed., 120, Sugden Road, Clapham Com., S.W.
Land and Labour, m., 1d., Land Nat. Soc., 432, West Strand, W.C.
Land Values, org. of League, 13, Dundas St., Glasgow, and 376, Strand, W.C.
Solidarity, m., 6d., Garden City Press, Letchworth, Herts.

LIBERAL AND RADICAL.

Beacon, m., 1d., E. L. Gales, ed., 14, Pierrepont Street, Bath.
Cambrian News, w., 1d., Terrace Road, Aberystwith.
Coming Day, m., 3d., ed., J. Page Hopps, 16, Paternoster Row, E.C.
Contemporary Review, m., 2s. 6d., Horace Marshall, 125, Fleet Street, E.C.
Independent Review, m., 2s. 6d., Fisher Unwin, 1, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.
Liberal Magazine, m., 6d., Lib. Pub. Dept., 42, Parliament St., S.W.
Liberal Monthly, 12pp., illus., 42, Parliament St., S.W.
Nation, w., 6d., 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.
Review of Reviews, m., 6d., W. T. Stead, Mowbray Ho., Norfolk St., W.C.

MISCELLANEOUS.

British Esperantist, m., 1d., 13, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.
Brotherhood, m., 3d., J. Bruce Wallace, ed., Garden City, Letchworth.
Burial Reformer, q., 3d., H. W. Ingram, ed., 12, London Street, E.C.
Club and Institute Journal, m., ½d., Club Union Bldgs., Clerkenwell Rd., E.C.
Ethics, w., 1d., ed., Dr. Stanton Coit, 17, Johnson's Court, E.C.
Freedom, m., 1d., Anarchist Communism, 127, Ossulston Street, N.W.
Individualist, m., 1d., Personal Rights, J. H. Levy, 32, Charing Cross, S.W.
Liberator, m., 1d., Liberation Soc., Caxton House, S.W.
Light of Reason, m., 4d., Jas. Allen, ed., Ilfracombe.
Malthusian, m., 1d., 1 and 2, Took's Court, Chancery Lane, E.C.
Message (Anti-tea Duty), 1d., 6, Old Queen Street, S.W.
Moral Instruction League Quarterly, 6, York Bldgs., Adelphi, W.C.
Municipal Journal, w., 2d., Lloyd, 12, Salisbury Square, E.C.
Optimist, Sociology and Theology, 72pp., q. 6d., Rev. S. Proudfoot, ed., Halton, Lancaster.
Poor Law Annual, 18-19, Whitefriars Street, E.C.

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Poor Law Officers' Journal, w., 1d., 18-19, Whitefriars Street, E.C.
Progress, q., 88pp., 1s. net, illus., organ of Brit. Inst. of Social Service, 11, Southampton Row, W.C.
Saint George, q., 1s., St. George's Press, Bournville, and G. Allen, London.
Teddy Ashton's Weekly, Allen Clarke, 1d., Victoria Street, Manchester.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

Board of Trade Journal, w., 1d., Wyman, Fetter Lane, E.C.
Labour Gazette, Board of Trade, m., 1d., Wyman, Fetter Lane, E.C.
L.C.C. Gazette, w., 1d., P. S. King & Son, Gt. Smith Street, S.W.

SECULARIST.

Freethinker, w., 2d., G. W. Foote, ed., 2, Newcastle Street, E.C.
Literary Guide, and Rationalist Review, m., 2d., Watts, 17, Johnson's Ct., E.C.
Truth Seeker, m., 1d., J. W. Gott, ed., 2, Union Street, Bradford.

SOCIAL BETTERMENT.

Associate, q., 1d., Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, W.C.
Cambridge House Mag., 6d., Rev. W. J. Conybeare, 131, Camberwell Rd., S.E.
Charity Organisation Review, m., 1d., C. S. Loch, ed., 39, P'noster Row, E.C.
Christian Commonwealth, w., 1d., 133, Salisbury Square, E.C.
Deadly Parallel, m., 1d. (No. 1, Oct. 1907), 149. Fleet St., E.C.
Fellowship, m., 1d., F. H. Stead, ed., Browning Settlement, Walworth, S.E.
Fratres, m., 1d., Medical Mission, Oxford.
Mansfield House Mag., m., 2d., Barking Road, Canning Town, E.
Message, m., J. Warschauer, ed., 203, Anerley Road, S.E.
Messenger, "Prophet of Exmoor," ed., Lynton, Devon.
Social Gazette, w., ½d., Salvation Army, 79, Fortess Road, N.W.
Social Service, m., 3d., C.U. for S.S., St. Pier's, Lingfield, Surrey.
Time and Talents News. Miss Barron, ed., 26, George St., Hanover Sq., W.
Toynbee Record, m., W. H. Beveridge, ed., 28, Commercial Street, E.C.
Working-men's College Jour., m., 2d., Crowndale Road, Camden Road, N.W.

TEMPERANCE.

Alliance News, w., organ of U.K.A., 16, Deansgate, Manchester.
Band of Hope Review, m., ½d., M. Jennie Street, ed., 9, Paternoster Row, E.C.
Everybody's Monthly (Irish Temp. League), 18, Lombard Street, Belfast.
Good Templars' Watchword, w. (I.O.G.T.), 168, Edmund St., Birmingham.
Prohibitionist, m., ½d. H. Bradley, ed., 100, Lewisham High Road, S.E.
Rechabite Magazine, m., 1d., 26, Bury New Road, Manchester.
Scottish Reformer, w., 1d., 108, Douglas Street, Glasgow.
Temperance Chronicle, w., 1d. (C.E.T.S.), 4, Sanctuary, Westminster, S.W.
Temperance Leader, w., 1d. (Sco. Temp. Leag.), 108, Hope Street, Glasgow.
Temperance Record, q., 4d., James, 3 & 4, London Ho. Yd., Paternoster R., E.C.
Temperance Witness, q., G. Hyler, Tem. Inst., Rutherford St., Newcastle-o-T.
U.T.C. Gazette, m., 1d., Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.
White Ribbon, m., 1d. (Brit. Wom. Temp.), 3-4, London House Yard, E.C.
Wings, m., 1d. (Wom. Total Abst. Union), 4, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

WOMEN AND WOMEN'S WORK.

Englishwoman's Review, q., 1s., A. M. Mackenzie, ed., 23, Berners St., W.
Votes for Women, m., 3d.; supplt. w. ½d., Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, ed., 4, Clement's Inn. W.C.
Woman Worker, m., 1d., Miss McArthur, Club Union Buildings, E.C.
Women's Agricultural Times, q., 1d., Hannaford & Hodges, 57, L'gate Hl., E.C.
Women's Employment, Central Bureau, 9, Southampton St., Holborn, W.C.
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Women's Industrial News, q., 3d. Miss Papworth, ed., 7, John St., Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Suffrage Record, q., 2½d., Miss Palliser, ed., 25, Victoria St., W.C.
Women's T.U. Review, q., 4d., Miss Tuckwell, ed., Club Union Bldgs., E.C.

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BOOKS OF THE YEAR.

(A list of the more important works on reform questions published between November 1st, 1906, and October 31st, 1907.)

Books for notice, or items of information respecting forthcoming issues, should be sent to *The Reformers' Year Book*, 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C.

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AN ARTIST'S REMINISCENCES. Walter Crane. With 123 illustrations. 18s. Methuen.

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See also Children's Life, Sweating, Workmen's Compensation.

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NOTABLE MEN & WOMEN.

HON. AND REV. JAMES ADDERLEY.

The Hon. James Granville Adderley—known for the past 12 years as "Father Adderley"—is a younger brother of Lord Norton. Was born 1861. Was at Eton and Oxford. Got the Oxford Theatre established. In '85 became head of Oxford House, Bethnal Green. Later, head of Christ Church Mission, Poplar, during which time he actively supported the dockers' agitation for better conditions. The Mission collected a large sum for the dockers. From 1893-1894 he was curate of Allhallows, Barking, and from 1894-1897 of St. Andrew's, Plaistow. In 1893 published "Stephen Remarx," and in 1895 "New Floreat," a letter to an Eton boy setting forth plainly the cause of the workers. From 1897-1901 he acted as minister of Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair. Then, after three years as vicar of St. Mark's, Marylebone, he went to Birmingham as Vicar of Saltley, one of the most crowded industrial districts in the city. His three curates are all I.L.P. men. In 1906 supported Holmes (Labour) against Stone, and Glasier (Labour) against Collings. Has published several books and pamphlets, including "Looking Upward" (1896), "Behold the Days Come" (1907), and "A New Earth" (1903). Was a contributor to "Vox Clamantium."

RICHARD BELL, M.P.

Richard Bell was born at Merthyr Tydvil in 1859. He entered the employ of the G.W.R., and became a guard.

Meanwhile he joined the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and became branch secretary at Swansea. In 1891 the society engaged him as organising secretary. He was looked on as one of the most advanced of the young men, and in 1897, on the general secretaryship becoming vacant, he was appointed to the post. In 1900 he stood as Independent Labour candidate for Derby, and secured second place to Sir Thomas Roe. Later he resigned from the Labour Representation Committee, but the Railwaymen's Society does not see eye to eye with him on this. In 1906 he was elected as senior member for Derby. Conducted the men's campaign, 1907, and consented to Lloyd George's terms of compromise.

EDWARD BERNSTEIN.

Born 1850 in Berlin, one of 10 children of a locomotive engine driver. First was an apprentice, then a clerk in a bank. At 22 years of age joined the Social Democratic Party, and six years afterwards left the bank. From 1881 to 1890 he edited the "Sozial Democrat," the official organ of the party. As a result of the Anti-Socialist Law, he came to London to escape prosecution, and acted as correspondent of the "Vorwarts." Among other literary work he has published a sketch of Lasalle, and in 1899 "Pre-suppositions of Socialism," a work which had a large sale, but aroused criticism in his party. Latterly, he has taken the Fabian attitude very strongly, and has come severely into conflict with the orthodox Marxists. For some years he represented Breslau West, but at the General Elections in March, 1907, all other parties, from the Radical Freethought Party to the Catholics and ultra-Royalists, combined against him, and although he increased his poll to nearly 20,000 votes, the combination defeated him by 1,500.

SIR HENRY COTTON, M.P., K.C.S.I.

Henry John Stedman Cotton was the son of an Indian Civil Servant. Born 1845. Passed through King's College, London, entered Indian Civil Service, and at 22 went to Bengal. Six years later (1873) he had become Under-secretary to the Government, and in turn became Commissioner of Police, chairman Calcutta Corporation, Chief Secretary Bengal, secretary to the Board of Revenue, Indian Home Secretary, Chief Commissioner of Assam, and Additional Member of the Governor-General's Council. In 1902 he retired, returned home, and was made K.C.S.I. Soon after he protested vigorously against the ill-timed Tibet expedition. At the General Election he fought and won East Nottingham as a Liberal, converting a Unionist majority of 779 to a Liberal majority of 1,730. Publications: "New India, or India in

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Transition" (1885), of which a revised and enlarged edition was issued in 1907. Sir Henry Cotton has no sympathy with

showy Imperialism of the Curzon type, and has great faith in the future of India if her powers of self-government are wisely developed.

PETE CURRAN, M.P.

Pete Curran was born in Glasgow of Irish parents in 1860. At 11 began work in a blacksmith's shop. Joined Glasgow

branch of Land League in 1880. After working at Woolwich Arsenal, was elected organiser of the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union in 1889. In 1890 was charged with intimidation by a Plymouth employer, and fined £20, with the alternative of six weeks' imprisonment. Appealed to the Queen's Bench, his case becoming the oft-quoted one of Curran v. Treleaven. The Queen's Bench reversed the decision, and established the right of a trade-union official to threaten to withdraw his members from work. Is chairman of the General Federation of Trade Unions. Has acted as Labour delegate to America, Germany, France, Holland, and Belgium. Is on Parliamentary Committee of Trade Union Congress. Contested Barrow unsuccessfully in 1895, and Barnsley in 1899, defeated at Jarrow in 1906, but won the seat in July, 1907.

MRS. FLORA DRUMMOND.

Born Manchester, 1878, educated at a Highland School until 14; after that took up a post as telegraphist in the Isle of Arran in the summer months, and attended Civil Service College in Glasgow during the winter months. After successfully passing all examinations for the highest position (postmistress) in the Civil Service, found herself a victim of a new regulation that applicants for postmistresses should be not less than 5ft. 2in. Failing by 1in. to come within the regulation, the time and money spent on preparation was of no avail, and she led a deputation of women to protest against

this injustice. Entered a Glasgow school, and took a Society of Arts certificate as typist. March, 1898, returned to Manchester, where she worked earnestly in the Socialist movement until Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney were sent to prison, and from that time has actively assisted the W.S.P.U. March 10th, 1906, arrested for a protest at 10, Downing Street. December, 1906, forced her way into the House of Commons, and was arrested and sent to prison for a fortnight. On her release became an organiser for the W.S.P.U.

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MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

Born in 1833, and has been a strenuous worker for women all her life. Supported various early women's movements for education and employment, and in 1865, as Miss Wolstenholme, was elected in Manchester as Secretary to the first Women's Suffrage Committee, but in 1866, having removed to Congleton, she resigned her post to Miss Becker,

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but remained an active member of committee, and continued to collect information, and give other assistance to the suffrage movement. She was also instrumental in the passing of the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882, and the Guardianship of Infants, carried in 1886. Founded the Women's Franchise League and the Women's Emancipation Union, is an original member of the Women's Social and Political Union; joined I.L.P. in 1905 owing to its support of the women's movement. Specially noted for her great knowledge of Parliamentary procedure, and the legal position of women. Has been a frequent contributor to the "Westminster Review," and has written "Women's Franchise: The Need of the Hour," published by I.L.P., and many other pamplets. Contributed the article on "Education for Girls" to the vol. "Woman's Work and Woman's Culture," pub. by Macmillan, 1867. Member of the committee of the National W.S.P.U.

MISS MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

Born January 12th, 1881, in Leeds. Went to voluntary school; became a pupil teacher at the age of 13, and from that date has kept herself. Took First Class King's Scholarship at 18, and admitted to the University of Leeds, but was unable to attend classes. Took the certificate examination "out of college"—teaching by day and studying by night—and obtained a Double First. Joined the Leeds Labour Church (affiliated to the I.L.P.), representing it on the local L.R.C. Worked on the Leeds Committee for the Feeding of School Children. In 1906 elected by the University Committee as a woman Labour delegate to the University Extension Committee. In the same year vice-president of the Leeds I.L.P., counsel to the N.F.A.T. of Nottingham, and secretary of the Women's

Photo by Gothard. Leeds.

Labour League, resigning latter position to become Organiser for the W.S.P.U. In 1907 in Mid-Glamorgan she broke up Mr. Samuel Evans' meetings as a protest against his talking out the Women's Suffrage resolution in the House of Commons on April 25th. Took part in the demonstration at the re-opening of Parliament, October 23rd, was arrested and sent to Holloway Gaol for two months on her refusal to be bound over to keep the peace. Worked vigorously for W.S.P.U. during first six months of 1907, assisting in seven by-elections. Owing to severe attack of apendicitis found operation necessary, but by end of year was well on the way to recovery.

ALBERT VICTOR GRAYSON, M.P.

Born in Liverpool. His father a Yorkshireman, and his mother a Scotchwoman. Indentured to engineers, and spent six years going through various

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grades. Went to Liverpool University with a view to entering Unitarian ministry. Thence to Manchester University. Abandoned idea of ministry, and has

since earned his living as a free-lance journalist. Has done many years' hard work speaking and writing for Socialism. Had done much work in Colne Valley before election.

H. M. HYNDMAN.

Henry Mayers Hyndman was born in London 1842. Son of J. B. Hyndman, of

Trinity College, Cambridge, donor of the Hyndman Church Trust. Was at Trinity College. Soon after leaving, commenced to write for "Pall Mall," and in 1866 went as war correspondent to Italy. From 1863 to 1868 played for Sussex County Eleven. From 1869 to 1871 travelled through world. Meanwhile was studying social questions. His knowledge of the United States, which he visited frequently between 1871-1879, convinced him that mere political changes were of no avail. On reading Marx's "Capital," was at once converted to Socialism. In 1881 the Democratic Federation became the Social Democratic Federation, with Hyndman as its recognised leader. In 1884 he founded "Justice." In 1887 was tried at the Old Bailey with Champion, Burns, and Williams. In 1895 contested Burnley, and again in 1906, when he polled 4,932 votes, being but 356 from victory. Among his writings are "Indian Policy and English Justice" (1874), "Bankruptcy of India" (1886), "England for All" (1881), "Historical Basis of Socialism" (1883), "Socialism and Slavery; a reply to Herbert Spencer" (1888), "Commercial Crisis of the Nineteenth Century" (1892), and "Economics of Socialism" (1896).

MISS ANNIE KENNEY.

Born at Lees, near Oldham, 1880. At 10 years old went to work and became a "little tenter" in a textile factory;

Photo by Schmidt. Manchester.

four years later a "big tenter." Conducted a regular literary campaign among her workmates. The works being closed, she was unemployed for 15 months; taken on at the end of that time, and agitated among her workmates for better wages. Sat on the district committee for her trade union. Became interested in the suffrage, and accepted post of Organiser of the W.S.P.U. With

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Miss Pankhurst, interrupted Sir Edward Grey's meeting, October, 1905, and went to prison for three days. Tried to interview Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Asquith, for which she suffered six weeks' imprisonment, and her further imprisonment for two months was inflicted for being in the vicinity of the House of Commons in October, 1906. Has taken active part for W.S.P.U. in 1907. Miss Kenney is extremely popular wherever she speaks, and draws enormous crowds.

PRINCE KROPOTKIN.

Prince Peter Alexeivitch was born in Moscow, 1842. From 1857-1862 received a military education, but preferred the study of science. In 1864 won the gold medal of the Geographical Society. After some years he left the service and returned to St. Petersburg to study science. Joined the Old International (1872) and also the St. Petersburg Socialist Group. In '74 was arrested and imprisoned in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. After 2½ years in prison without trial he was rescued, Stepniak having organised his escape to England. Later he became an Anarchist Communist, and going to live in Switzerland, he founded "Le Révolté" (afterwards "Les Temps Nouveaux"). Expelled from Switzerland for Anarchist propaganda in 1881, and in 1882, on a similar charge, he was arrested at Lyons and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Among his writing are many geographical works, "An Appeal to the Young" (1885), "Law and Authority" (1886), "War" (1886), "The Place of Anarchism in Social Evolution" (1887). "The Wage System" (1889). "Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles" (1891), "Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal" (1897), "The State: Its Part in History" (1898), "Fields, Factories, and Workshops" (1899, 5th edition 1904), "Memoirs of a Revolutionist" (1900), "Mutual Aid, a Factor of Evolution" (1902), "Ideals and Realities in Russian Literature" (1905). Kropotkin is a great believer in the educational value of handicraft work, and bookbinding and carpentry are among his recreations.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Emmeline Pethick was born in Bristol Went to school in Weston-super-Mare and Wiesbaden. Entered the West London Mission, working for five years as a sister; subsequently started on independent lines, and with Miss Neal founded the Esperance Working Girls' Club and Esperance Co-operative Dressmaking Establishment. Took strenuous part in opposition to the South African War. Married F. W. Lawrence (Editor of *Echo*, and present joint-editor of the *Reformers' Year Book*) in 1901, continuing to devote herself to social work of all kinds. 1905 visited South Africa, forming a close friendship

Photo by Gothard. Leeds.

with Olive Schreiner. On her return became hon. treasurer of W.S.P.U. On October 23rd interviewed one of the Liberal Whips as to intention of the Government, and received a message of "No hope." Assisted the subsequent demonstration, and was arrested for standing by Annie Kenney, and sent to prison for two months. After three days, owing to serious illness, the W.S.P.U. insisted upon her giving an undertaking to keep the peace, and being released. Commands great respect as a speaker. President of Esperance Girls' Club, and member of National Committee for Old English Folk Songs and Dances. Joint editor with her husband of "Votes for Women."

F. C. MACKARNESS, M.P.

Frederick Coleridge Mackarness was born in 1854, being the son of the Rt. Rev. J. F. Mackarness, Bishop of Oxford. He was educated at Marlborough and Oxford. In 1879 called to Bar (Middle Temple). In 1882 became an advocate in the Cape Supreme Court. On returning to England he was made Revising Barrister for London in 1889, and Recorder of Newbury, Berkshire (1894). During 1905-1906 he was Professor of Roman-Dutch Law at University College, London. In 1906 won Newbury Division, for many years a safe Tory seat. Was a vigorous opponent of Boer War and Chinese Labour in S. Africa.

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MRS. MARTEL.

Mrs. Martel has spent a large part of her life in Australia. Born in England, she soon saw that women would never get favourable consideration until they had the vote. From May, 1889, to August, 1902, took an active part in fighting for the vote in New South Wales, being for eight years Hon. Receiving Secretary for petitions. Member of the Deputation Committee and of the Financial Committee from 1893, till the vote was won. In 1900 unanimously elected President

of Women's Progressive Assn. Was instrumental in working up the deputation to Sir John See, and getting the enfranchisement Bill carried through. After that, President of the Liberal and Reform Association of N.S.W. December, 1903, nominated for Senatorship of the Commonwealth Parliament, and, although defeated, obtained about 19,000 votes. Came to England in May, 1905. Went at the head of 400 women to House of Commons to demand vote. Protested at a Liberal meeting in Hitchin, January, 1907, and ejected, mounted police being used in the skirmish which followed. Appointed organiser for the W.S.P.U., October, 1906, and has addressed meetings all over the country, being a very popular speaker. Has written "The Women's Vote in Australia," published by W.S.P.U.

MARGARET McMILLAN

Was born in New York, of Scottish parents. She has been by turns governess and private secretary, and now is a writer and lecturer, particularly on all subjects affecting the development of the child's mind and body. In the 'eighties she was drawn into the Christian Socialist movement, and contributed to the "Christian Socialist" newspaper. Having once come to accept the Socialist outlook on life, she joined the Labour Church and the I.L.P. From 1894 to 1902 Miss McMillan was a member of the Bradford School Board, and achieved a number of reforms. For some time past she has been making a determined struggle to secure the appointment of a special department of the Education Board for carrying out the medical inspection of elementary school children. Miss McMillan's published works are "Early Childhood," "Education through the Imagination," and "Labour and Childhood"—all published by Swan Sonnenschein—and the following tracts: "Child Labour and the Half-time System," "Beginnings of Education," "The Child and the State," and "Infant Mortality."

SAM MASTERSON.

An active and earnest worker in the cause of social reform and the betterment of conditions of labour for very many years. Was Chelsea Branch Secretary of Ironfounders from 1879 to 1894, when elected to Asst. Secretaryship. One of founders and hon. sec. of Chelsea and Fulham Labour League up to 1894. Selected by Mansion House Committee to visit Paris Exhibition of '89, and report on trade. Helped to form London Reform Union, and was at one time on Executive. Joined Fabian Society in early nineties, and lectured for it. In 1904 elected alderman of borough of Southwark, but in 1906 resigned on Ironfounders moving head-quarters to Manchester.

MRS. PANKHURST.

Emmeline Goulden was born in Manchester on the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, her father being a great Radical politician, and her grandfather having been at Peterloo, and only just escaped with his life. Went to school in Paris at the Ecole Normale for Girls, where she was room companion of Henri Rochefort's daughter, and became an ardent Republican. Returned to Manchester, and became more and more conscious of the inferior position of women. In 1879 met Dr. Pankhurst, who had been a member of the first Women's Suffrage Society (founded by J. S. Mill), and was married to him in the same year. She went on the executive of the Women's Suffrage Society, and on the committee for pushing the Married Woman's Property Bill, originally drafted by Dr. Pankhurst, which subsequently became law. Assisted her husband in 1883 as Independent Radical candidate for Manchester, and, in 1885, as orthodox Radical candidate for

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Rotherhithe. Came to London in 1886; joined Fabian Society and Holborn Women's Liberal. She remained Liberal till 1892, when she joined I.L.P., and returned to Manchester. In the same year I.L.P. candidate for School Board in Manchester, and was first of defeated candidates. April, 1893, I.L.P. candidate for Guardians, and elected head of the poll, serving five years. 1895, assisted Dr. Pankhurst as I.L.P. candidate for Gorton. 1899, on the death of Dr. Pankhurst, appointed Registrar of Births and Deaths. 1900, elected as Trades Council nominee to the School Board. Member National Administrative Council of I.L.P. 1898 and 1904/5. Formed W.S.P.U. in 1903. Organised conference at Caxton Hall, February, 1906. Took part at House of Commons, 1906, but was not arrested. Powerful debater and speaker, and has great influence at by-elections. On reconstruction of the Union in 1907 became Hon. Sec. Portrait on page 184.

MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Born September 22nd, 1880. Educated at home till 13, and as a child edited a small paper *The Home News*. Went to school at Southport and Manchester High School, and, at 16, abroad to a school in Switzerland. On the death of her father, when she was 17, assisted her mother in earning their living. Became member of the I.L.P., and commenced work for the suffrage by sending up resolutions to the

I.L.P. conference, and assisting in getting them carried. In 1901, member of executive of North of England Society for Women's Suffrage, also committee of Women's Manchester T.U. Council. November, 1903, formed W.S.P.U., and carried resolutions on Women's Suffrage in Trades Councils all over the country. 1904 applied to be admitted as a student at Lincoln's Inn. Being refused she spoke at the Union Society of London—the well-known Legal Debating Society—on the question of the admission of women to the Bar, and carried the Society with her. 1905, obtained the prize for international law at Victoria University, Owen's College, Manchester. Originated the present militant tactics of the W.S.P.U. 1906, took her LL.B., obtaining Honours, and being bracketed at the head of the list with one man. Was arrested for interrupting Sir Edward Grey's meeting in Manchester, October 13th, 1905, and went to prison for a week. Has led the political campaign of the movement, conducting several by-elections, and being again arrested February, 1907, for attempting to reach the House of Commons. Is Organising Secretary of National W.S.P.U.

FRANK SMITH, L.C.C.

Frank Smith was the only Independent Labour candidate returned to the L.C.C. in March, 1907. He now has the distinc-

tion of having fought three County Council elections successfully and three Parliamentary elections unsuccessfully. Born of working-class parents, Frank Smith nevertheless received a sound education. Apprenticed to upholstery trade, he soon gave this up to become a Salvation Army officer. Rising grade by grade, he became the overseer of the Army's work in the United States, and later was appointed Commissioner on social work. During this time he travelled through Canada, the United States, Egypt, India, China, and South America. In the early 'nineties he came closely into contact with the Socialist movement, and, resigning his commissionship, joined the I.L.P. Perhaps

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best known for his work for the unemployed. Has been closely associated with Keir Hardie. Frank Smith is a good swimmer, and holds the Royal Humane Society's gold medal for saving life. He is an experienced journalist, has been editor of the "Weekly Dispatch," London editor of the "Eastern Morning News"; also brought out the "Workers' Cry."

ALBERT STANLEY, M.P.

Born in Shropshire 1862. Commenced work at 10, and at once joined Union. In '86 became Miners' Agent for Cannock

Chase, Staffordshire, and in '87 appointed Secretary Midland Miners' Federation, which posts he has continued to hold. Is a member of Executive, Federation of Great Britain, and on English Conciliation Board. Took part in settlement of great strike of 1893. He is married, has four boys and two girls, and his principal recreation is gardening, especially the growing of roses and carnations. Returned for N.W. Staffs., 1907, by 7,396 votes to 5,047.

JAMES TIMEWELL.

Born in Woolavington, Somerset, 1857. Has lived in London since 18 years of age. Since '97 has carried on a determined campaign for protection of public against improper treatment by police. In 1902 helped to form the Police and Public Vigilance Society, which has provided legal assistance and otherwise assisted many wrongfully-charged persons to prove their innocence. Mr. Timewell was thanked by the chairman of the Royal Commission on the Metropolitan Police for his assistance in preparing cases for investigation. His striking pamphlet on the Royal Commission (1d.: Police and Public Vigilance Society, 141, Gower

Street, W.C.) has run into its 10th thousand.

FREDERICK VERINDER.

Born in Bethnal Green in 1858, his father being a London unskilled labourer, and his grandfather a Wiltshire agricul-

tural labourer. At 14 commenced work as a pupil teacher in a National School in Bethnal Green, and so continued until 19. Meanwhile was studying science and taking an interest in social and political questions. Became under-graduate at London University, studying science under

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Huxley, Guthrie, and Dyer. In the same year was one of the founders and the first hon. sec. of the Guild of St. Matthew. These and similar interests hindered him from taking his degree. From 1878 to 1883 he was assistant master at Tottenham Grammar School. In the following year—being then 25 years of age—he became sub-editor of the "Church Reformer" and secretary of the English Land Restoratn. League (now the Eng. League for the Taxation of Land Values). Also edited the "Democrat," afterwards amalgamated with Davitt's "Labour World."

WILLIAM WALKER.

Born Belfast, 1872. At 15, apprenticed carpenter and joiner at Harland and Wolff's shipyard. At 19 helped organise dockyard labourers. Later especially appointed to help organise other trades. In 1904 appointed local organising delegate for Joiners' Union; same year president of Irish Trades Congress. Served as Poor Law Guardian in Belfast, and effected many reforms. Elected City Councillor in 1904, and lost seat in reaction of 1906. Contested North Belfast as Labour Party candidate against Sir Daniel Dixon twice—1905 and 1906—and against Mr. Clark, the present member, in April, 1907.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN.

Son and heir of the 2nd Bart. Born Edinburgh 1838. Educated at Edinburgh University. Won third place in Indian

Civil Service examination. Went to India in 1860. From 1860 to 1887 was in Bombay, becoming Judge of the High Court, and later Acting Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government. In 1889, after his retirement, he acted as President of the Indian National Congress. Was on the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure and chairman of the Indian Parliamentary Committee. From 1893 to 1900 was M.P. Banffshire. He has written on such questions as agricultural banks, arbitration courts, village communities, and a number of Indian subjects. He lives in Gloucestershire, is a J.P., a D.L., and a member of the County Council. He favours progressive self-government for India, and believes that the famine mortality is avoidable.

H. G. WELLS.

Herbert George Wells was born at Bromley, 1866, son of Joseph Wells, the professional cricketer. Was at Royal College of Science; first-class honours in zoology; B.Sc. At 20 wrote text books of biology and zoology, and later on physiography. Meanwhile commenced writing short stories. In 1894 "The Time Machine"—a forecast of future decadence—attracted great attention. Principal Socialist works are: "Anticipations" (1901), "Mankind in the Making" (1903), "A Modern Utopia" (1904), "In the Days of the Comet" (1905), "Socialism and the Family" (1906), "This Misery of Boots" (1907), and "New Worlds for Old," published in "Grand Magazine," 1907. On becoming a Socialist, Mr. Wells joined the S.D.F., I.L.P., and Fabian Society. Was responsible for the appointment of, and served on, a special committee, which resulted in many new developments in Fabian work and policy. Among his novels may be noted "The Wonderful Visit," "The Sea Lady," "Love and Mr. Lewisham," "Kipps, the Story of a Simple Soul," and "In the Days of the Comet," already referred to.

ANEURIN WILLIAMS.

Born at Dowlais, Glam., in '59, his father being then manager of a department in the great ironworks, and afterwards an iron master in Middlesbrough. Was at St. John's Col., Cambridge, and in 1880 took his degree in Classical tripos. Became member of Inner Temple, and called to Bar in '84, but never practised, having become deeply interested in problems of poverty. Lectured on political economy at Toynbee Hall, and did other work in East End. From '86 to '90 was Secretary of Linthorpe Ironworks, Middlesbrough. In '92 began work in forwarding Labour Co-partnership. Is chairman of Land Nationalisation Society Executive, on Political Committee of New Reform Club, Hon. Treas. Labour Co-partnership Association, and chairman First Garden City, Ltd. At General Election, 1906, was Liberal candidate, Medway division, Kent, and defeated only by 106 votes. Mr. Williams is a J.P. for Surrey, and lives at Hindhead, near Haslemere.

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DIRECTORY

OF USEFUL ADDRESSES.

Addresses of all M.P.'s will be found on pp. 24–39; of Political Organisations on pp. 68–78; of principal Trade Unions on 169–171; of Trades Councils 17.–175; of Reform Societies 208–218.

AMONG the following addresses will be found those of the most prominent workers in Social and Reform Movements. The greatest care has been taken in compilation to keep pace with the enormous number of changes. The co-operation of subscribers is especially requested to make the list absolutely correct.

Corrections and additions should be addressed to "The Editor, Reformers' Year Book, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.," and should be posted before September 30th, 1908, for inclusion in the 1909 issue.

THE ABBREVIATIONS.

The following abbreviations are used in the Directory:—

A.S.E.—Amalg. Soc. Engineers.
A.S.R.S.—Amalg. Soc. of Raily. Servants.
B.C.—Borough Councillor.
B.G.—Board of Guardians.
B.I.S.S.—Brit. Inst. Soc. Service.
B.T.Cor.—Board of Trade Labour Corres.

C.B.—Companion of the Bath.
C.C.—County Councillor.
C.F.—*Clarion* Fellowship.
C.I.E.—Companion Indian Empire.
C.M.G.—Comp. St. Michael and St. George.
C.S.L.—Church Socialist League.
C.S.U.—Christian Social Union.
C.W.S.—Co-op. Wholesale Society.

F.C.A.—Fellow of Inst. Chartered Account.
F.R.G.S.—Fellow Royal Geographical Soc.
F.R.I.B.A.—Fellow Roy. Inst. Brit. Archts.
F.S.—Fabian Society.
F.S.S.—Fellow Statistical Society.

G.F.T.U.—Gen. Fed. of Trade Unions.
G.L.—Gaelic League.
G.S.M.—Guild of St. Matthew.
G.W.U.—Gas Workers & Gen. Labrs. Un.

I.A.O.S.—Irish Agric. Org. Soc.
I.L.P.—Independent Labour Party.
I.N.L.—Irish National League.
I.O.G.T.—Indep. Order of Good Templars.
I.T.U.C.—Irish Trade Union Congress.
I.W.T.U.—Irish Wom. Tempce. Union.

L.C.C.—London County Council.
L.C.U.—Labour Church Union.
L.Ch.—Labour Church.
L.N.S.—Land Nationalisation Society.
L.P.—Labour Party.
L.R.C.—Labour Represn. Committee.
L.R.U.—London Reform Union.
L.S.C.—London Society of Compositors.
L.T.C.—London Trades Council.

M.A.B.—Metropolitan Asylums Board.
M.J.I.—Mem. Journalists' Institute.
M.R.F.—Metropolitan Radical Federation.

N.A.C.—National Council of I.L.P.
N.D.L.—National Democratic League.
N.E.A.—National Education Association.
N.G.W.—National Gas Workers' Union.
N.H.R.U.—Nat. Housing Reform Union.
N.R.U.—National Reform Union.
N.S.P.C.A.—Nat. Soc. Prev. Cr. to Animals.
N.S.P.C.C.—N. Soc. Preven. Cr. to Children.
N.S.S.—National Secular Society.
N.U.T.—National Union of Teachers.
N.U.W.W.—Nat. Union of Women Workers.

O.A.P.—Old Age Pensions.

P.C.—Parish Councillor.
P.C.T.U.C.—Parly. Committee of T.U.C.

R.D.C.—Rural District Councillor.
R.P.A.—Rationalist Press Association.

S.A.U.—Shop Assistants' Union.
S.B.—School Board.
S.C.W.S.—Scottish Co-op. Wholesale Soc.
S.D.F.—Social-Democratic Federation.
S.T.—Single Taxer.
S.T.L.V.—Scot. Taxn. Land Val. League.
S.T.U.C.—Scot. T.U. Congress.
S.W.C.—Scot. Workers Repr. Committee.

T.C.—Town Council or Councillor.
T.&L.C.—Trades and Labour Council.
T.L.V.—Taxation of Land Val. League.
T.R.L.—Tariff Reform League.
T.U.—Trade Union.
T.U.C.—Trade Union Congress.

U.D.C.—Urban District Councillor.
U.G.W.F.—United Govt. Workers' Fedn.
U.K.A.—United Kingdom Alliance.

W.L.A.—Women's Liberal Association.
W.L.L.—Women's Labour League.
W.N.L.A.—Women's Nat. Lib. Association.
W.S.P.U.—Women's Soc. & Pol. Union.
W.T.U.L.—Women's Trade Union League.
W.U.—Workers' Union.
W.W.T.U.—World's Women's Temp. Union.

An asterisk (*) distinguishes **lecturers**, and a dagger (†) **writers** on Social questions. Reform Societies are usually ready to arrange for lectures, many of them lantern lectures, and would furnish all particulars on application. See Directory of Societies (page 208).

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Adler, Rev. Hermann, D.D. (chief Rabbi), 22, Finsbury Square, E.C.
Adler, Miss N., Children's questions, 6, Craven Hill, W.
***Aitken, George,** Peace Soc., 178, Cuthbertson Street, Glasgow.
***Albery, A. Stuart,** I.L.P., 19, Temple Street, Kennington, S.E.
***Albery, Victor,** Sec., Clerks' U., I.L.P., 19, Temple Street, Kennington, S.E.
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†Aldridge, H. R. (Land and Housing), Dulverton Road, Leicester.
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†Allen, James, Ed. *Light of Reason*, Ilfracombe.
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†***Broadbent, Albert**, Vegetarian Society, 257, Deansgate, Manchester.
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Colegrove, Miss Mary, I.L.P., 8, Queen St., Oxford.
†**Coleridge, Hon. Stephen,** Anti-vivisection, 92, Victoria Street, S.W.
Collinge, Miss, W.S.P.U., 10, Bury New Road, Bolton.
Collins, Sir W. J., M.P., L.C.C., 1, Albert Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
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Craske, Harold, First Garden City, 326a, High Holborn, W.C.
Creed, F. A., Land Law Reform Association, 21, John St., Adelphi, W.C.
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Crook, W. M., Home Counties Liberal Fed., 42, Parliament Street, S.W.
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***Curran, Pete**, M.P., 1, Pretoria Av., Walthamstow, Essex.
Cutcliffe, Fred, *New International Review* Office, Iffley Road, Oxford.
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†***Dakers, A. W.**, B.A., T.L.V., 33, Meldon Ter., Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
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†***Ellam, J. E.**, "Eldersfield," Park Road, Brentwood, Essex.
Ellis, Arthur, F.S., 107, Ashbourne Road, Fulwood Park, Liverpool.
Elvin, H. A., Clerks' Union, Hills Road, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
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†**Elmy, Mrs. Elizabeth C. W.**, Women's questions, Buxton House, Congleton.
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†Fifield, Arthur C., Ed. *The Simple Life* Press, 44, Fleet Street, E.C.
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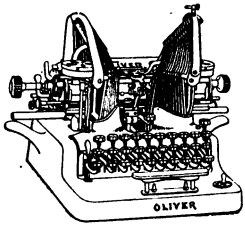

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iv. The religion of the Labour Movement declares that improvement of social conditions and the development of personal character are both essential to emancipation from social and moral bondage, and to that end insists upon the duty of studying the economic and moral forces of society.

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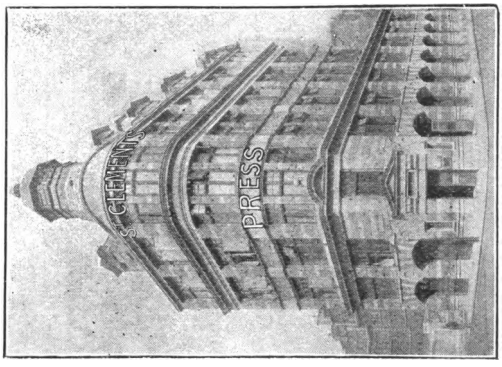

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